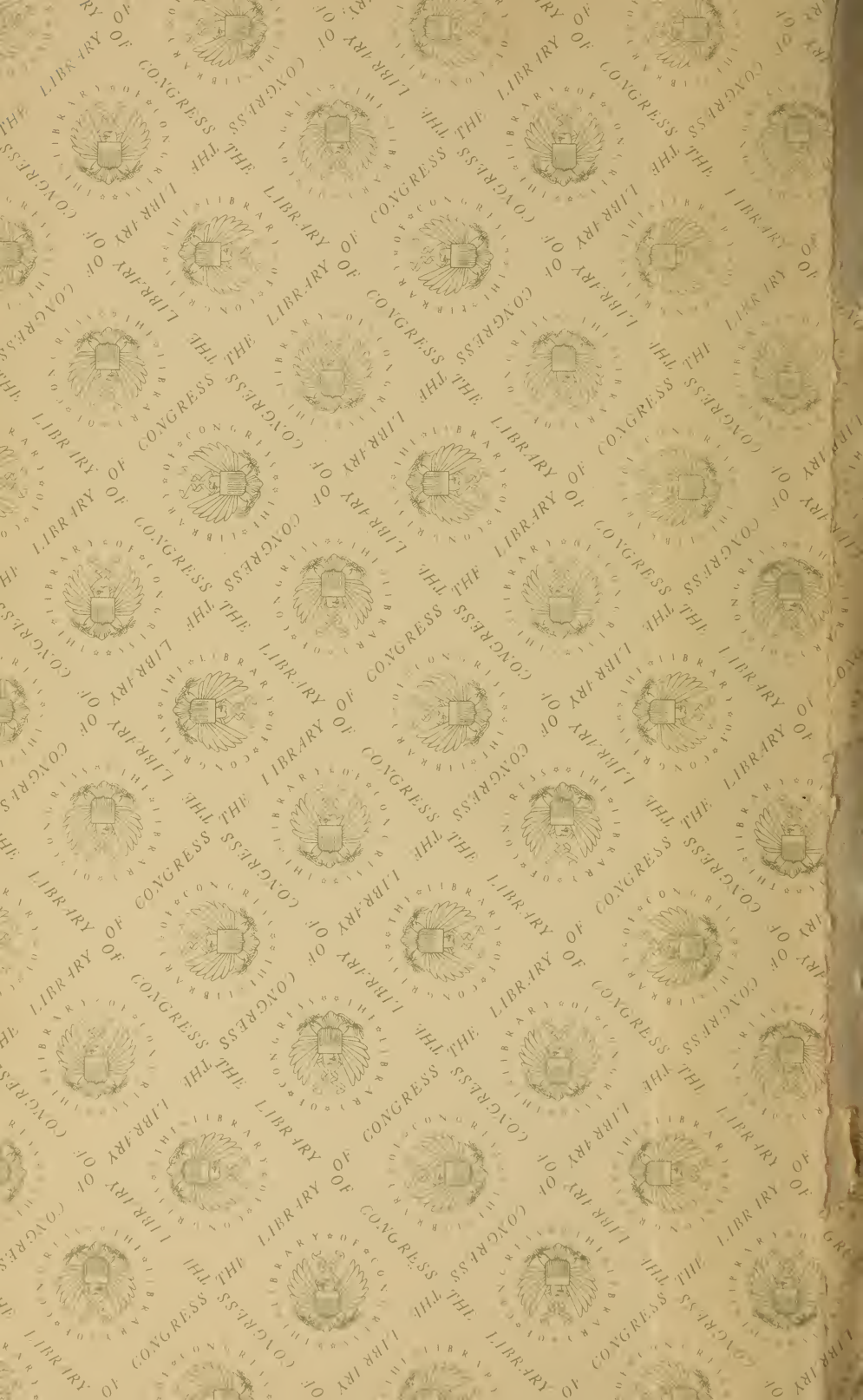


JK
2352
1904a





JK 2352
1904a

SAVINGS DEPOSITS	OLD	CHECKING ACCOUNTS
NATIONAL		
CERTIFICATES OF DEPOSIT	BANK	MONEY ORDERS
OPPOSITE POST OFFICE, PROVIDENCE		

Statement of Condition

July 15, 1904

Resources

Loans and Discounts	\$1,453,867 37
United States and other Bonds and Securities	1,197,210 00
Banking House	185,000 00
Due from Banks	821,516 69
Cash	212,516 52
Due from United States Treasurer,	10,000 00
Total	\$3,880,110 58

Liabilities

Capital Stock	\$500,000 00
Surplus and Profits	102,560 64
Currency in Circulation	200,000 00
Deposits	3,077,549 94
Total	\$3,880,110 58

The Savings Department of this Bank has the usual advantages of Savings Banks with the additional security of the Capital and Surplus. The Commercial Department receives deposits subject to check at sight. Interest Allowed in Both Departments : : : :

Alexander Brothers

— Wholesale —
Grocers

Cor. Custom House and Dyer Sts., Providence, R. I.

Distributing Agents for

“Ben Hur” Flour, “Bridal Veil” Flour

“Cruikshanks” Pickles and Preserves

Fort Stanwix “Flag Brand” Canned Vegetables

“Silver Cord” Canned and Evaporated Fruits

Isaac L. Goff Company

Real Estate Agents

All kinds of property in all sections of the city at low prices and easy terms.

General Insurance Agents

State Agents for Manhattan Life Insurance Company, Standard Life and Accident Insurance Company, and representing thirty of the most reliable fire insurance companies

Home Builders

We are the largest builders of modern homes in Rhode Island. We employ the best of workmen and very best of material. It is no boast to say that in this respect we are beyond competition.

Land Developers

We developed Washington Park and other parks too numerous to mention in this city and state. People who are wise locate on our plats.


Architects and Designers

We design our own plans and have hundreds of plans ready made from the latest designs for people to look at.

We Solicit Your Patronage for the above

171 Westminster Street, Providence, R. I.

New England Butt Co.

 ounders and
Machinists

BRAIDING MACHINERY

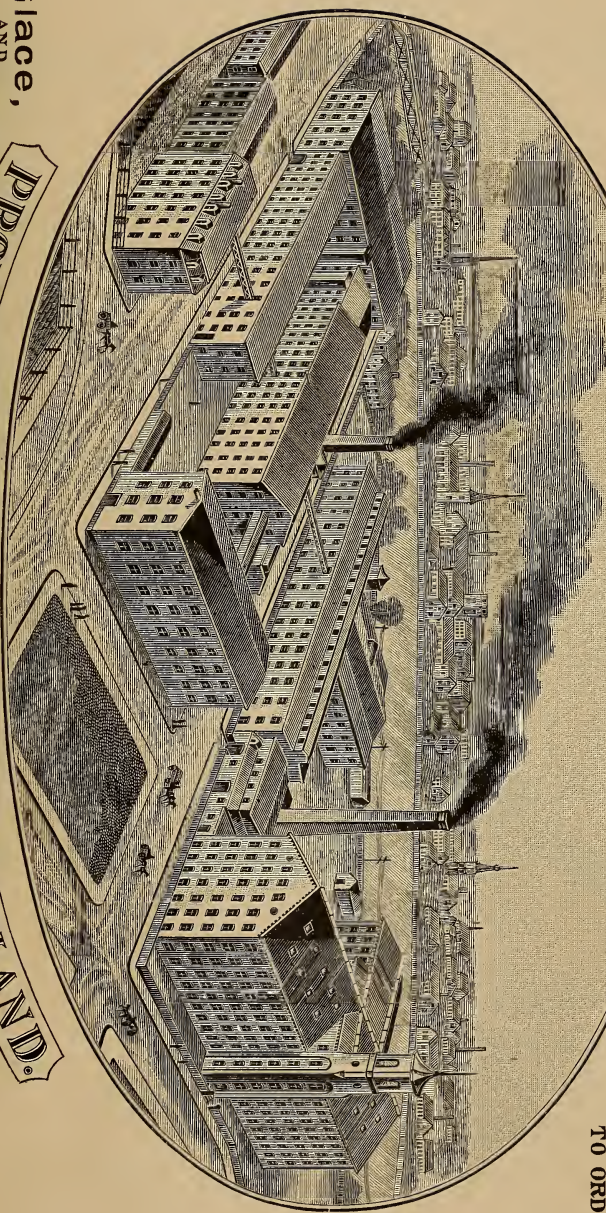
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WIRE MACHINERY

Providence . . . Rhode Island

BOOT SHOE
AND
CORSET LACES.

WETCHER MANUFACTURING CO.
ESTABLISHED 1793. INCORPORATED 1865.

LAMP WICKS
OF ALL
DESCRIPTIONS.
SPECIAL WICKS
TO ORDER.



Glace,
AND
PLAIN BRAIDS,
BOBBINS, ETC.

PROVIDENCE,
RHODE ISLAND.



NICHOLSON FILE COMPANY

GENERAL OFFICES

PROVIDENCE, R. I., U. S. A.

Files



and

Rasps



NICHOLSON
KEARNEY & FOOT
ARCADE
AMERICAN
GREAT WESTERN

McCLELLAN
EAGLE
J. B. SMITH
"X. F."
GOLD MEDAL

ESTABLISHED 1836

BURROWS & KENYON

WHOLESALE AND RETAIL
DEALERS IN

LUMBER

OF ALL KINDS

Corner of Dean and Washington Streets
Providence, R. I.

Telephone 2037

North Carolina Pine and Cypress a specialty

Time Saved is Money Earned

<p>It is an acknowledged fact in all lines of business that there is no time saver equal to</p>

The Long-Distance Telephone

<p>An investment of ten cents per day lists your name with those of thousands of up-to- date business men who rec- ognize the worth of telephone service as a valuable asset</p>
--

Providence Telephone Company



AUTOCRAT

TRADE-MARK

JAVA

COFFEE

Roasted and Packed by

Brownell & Field Co.

Providence, R. I.



RHODE ISLAND STATE CAPITOL

Gorham Silver

The World's Standard

... for ...

Merit and Quality

TRADE MARK



STERLING

WE have an exclusive display for wedding gifts, including

Tea Sets Dinner Ware
Candle Sticks Candelabra
Coffee Sets Fruit, Berry, and Salad Bowls
Vases Decanters, etc.

Also, the newest designs in

Knives Forks Spoons
and Serving Pieces

Tilden-Thurber Co.

Sole Representatives in Providence, R. I.

THE GAS RANGE

— AND —

GAS WATER-HEATER

Once a Luxury now a
Household Necessity

You cannot err in choosing a Gas Range or Gas Water-Heater, because in no other city of the United States are there more varieties of approved Gas Ranges and Water Heaters to select from than those offered by the Providence Gas Co., and by them guaranteed to purchasers.

The Gas Range and Gas Water-Heater to-day occupies a place in every well-regulated household,—not as a luxury to lighten the drudgery of household care, but as an absolute necessity with nothing to take its place.

Please call and see the assortment of High-grade Ranges and Water Heaters at our

Gas Appliance Department

No. 353 Westminster Street

Hoppin Homestead Building

Open Saturday
Evenings

Providence Gas Co.

ESTABLISHED 1849

INCORPORATED 1890

J. BRIGGS & SONS CO.

65 Clifford Street, Providence, R. I.

MANUFACTURERS OF

Gold and Silver Rolled Plate

Seamless Wire and Tubing

Square, Flat and Fancy Wires of all kinds. Gold on the side and gold on the edge wire. *Striped Plate*. All colors and karats of flat plate, any width and thickness desired. Gold, silver and brass solders. We make, in addition to all kinds of plate and wire used in the manufacture of Jewelry, stock especially adapted to the manufacture of

Cane Heads

Watch Cases

Spectacles and

Umbrella Mountings

Watch Crowns

Eye-Glass Bows

Pencil Cases

Thimbles

Diamond Mountings, etc.

A. Carpenter & Sons Foundry Co.

272 West Exchange Street

Providence, R. I.

FIRE AND LIABILITY

Insurance



Spencer & Boss

29 Weybosset Street

Providence, R. I.

Queen Dyeing Company

Providence, R. I.

Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Company

**STRONGEST
SAFEST
BEST**

JESSE M. WHEELOCK, General Agent

For Rhode Island and Southeastern Massachusetts

801-804 Union Trust Bldg.

PROVIDENCE, R. I.

ROBERT B. TREAT, President and Treasurer

JOHN B. ALLEN, Vice-President

GEORGE H. WEBB, Secretary

Manufacturers Fuel Company of Rhode Island

ANTHRACITE **COAL** BITUMINOUS

Sole State Agents for

MILTRENA POCAHONTAS AND NEW RIVER STEAM COAL

BUCKWEAT STEAM COAL, CANNEL COAL, COKE

LEHIGH, SCRANTON, FRANKLIN

EDNA WESTMORLAND GAS COAL

Banigan Building

Providence, R. I.

Telephone, 620 Union

Standard Mill Supply Co.

39 Exchange Place

Providence, R. I.

CRANSTON WORSTED MILLS

BRISTOL, R. I.



Worsted and Mohair Yarns—white or colors, in skeins, on spools, cones, or shuttle bobbins.

Novelty Yarns of Mohair and Worsted. We are the only manufacturers in the United States making these yarns from the raw material to finished product and making yarns **only**.

Genapped Yarns of all kinds. Doup Yarns. Harness Yarns. For Braids, etc.

DYERS OF YARN AND SLUBBING

ANTHRACITE **COAL** BITUMINOUS

Office and Yard
Corner Dorrance and Dyer Streets
Telephone 1807

Central Office
Custom House and Weybosset Streets
Telephone 2007

PROVIDENCE COAL CO.

Eagle Brewing Company
Providence, R. I.

**EAGLE
ALE**

W. D. CORNELL, President

Established 1814

JOHN P. FARNSWORTH, Treasurer

Providence Dyeing, Bleaching and Calendering Company

Providence . . Rhode Island



Bleachers and Finishers

of Shirtings, Lawns, Nainsooks, Butter and Cheese
Cloth, Handkerchiefs, White and Colored
Border; special attention given to
Fine Dress Goods and Lawns
for Hemstiching

CAPACITY—20 TONS PER DAY

JAMES H. TOWER

MANUFACTURER OF

STEEL BRIDGES

Girders, Roof Trusses, Fire Escapes,
Fences, Cells, Prison Work, and all kinds
of Structural and Ornamental Iron Work

Beams, Channels, Tees, Angles and Plates in Stock
Designs Furnished

46 to 60 Borden Street, Providence, R.I.

Manchester & Hudson

Wholesale and Retail Dealers in

Masons' Materials

of all kinds



Agents for



Office and Yard

55 Point Street

Providence, R. I.

1852 KNOWLES 1904

We make a general line of Sterling Silver Tableware of which we carry samples at factory, ready for your inspection. The quality and workmanship of our goods are above question and our prices are reasonable. We respectfully solicit your patronage.

J. B. & S. M. KNOWLES CO.

91 SABIN STREET
PROVIDENCE, R. I.

POTTER & COMPANY

Decorators
— and —
Furnishers

Forty Dorrance St. Providence, R. I.

WILLIAM H. MILLER & SONS

Blacksmiths

Machine and Tool Forging of all kinds
We also keep in stock Jessop's Tool Steel

194 to 202 Eddy Street

Providence, R. I.

KNIGHT, FYANS, FRASER & BLACKWAY CO.

Dealers in New and Second-hand

Cotton Mill Machinery

Complete Plants Bought and Sold

We always have a large lot of
Good Cotton Machinery on hand
and can furnish **An Entire Mill**
with **Modern Equipment**

We are also dealers in **Power Transmission Machinery**
All Kinds of **Special Machinery** Built to
Order. Mill Repairs of every description

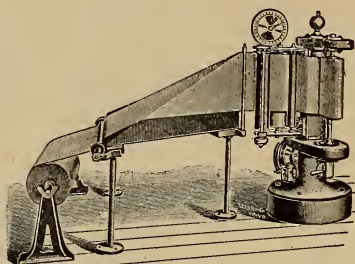
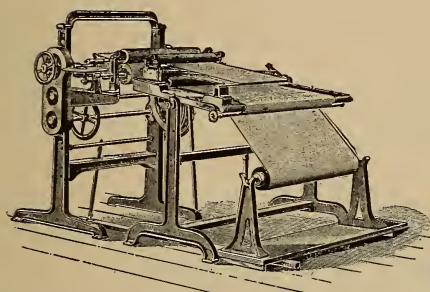
83-95 Anawan Street, Fall River, Mass.

Also Chamber of Commerce Bldg., Providence, R. I.

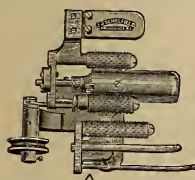
WRITE FOR LIST OF MACHINERY

This will introduce to you

Some of My Specialties



Horizontal Cloth Doubling, Measuring & Winding Machine *Vertical Cloth Doubling, Measuring & Winding Machine*



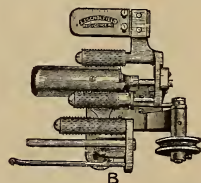
JOSEPH J. SCHOLFIELD,

DESIGNER & BUILDER OF

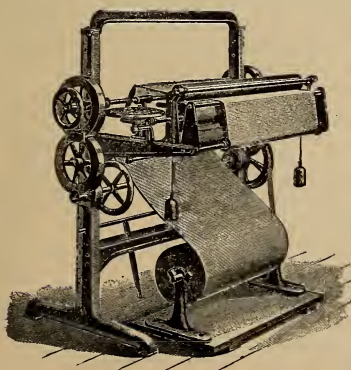
SPECIAL MACHINERY

FOR

COTTON & WOOLEN MILLS,
BLEACHERIES & PRINT WORKS.
282 DYER ST., PROVIDENCE.



Automatic Feeders for Cloth Dryers & Tentering Machines



Cloth Measuring and Winding Machine.



Everlasting Presser Wheel.



Improved Portable Factory Sewing Machine.

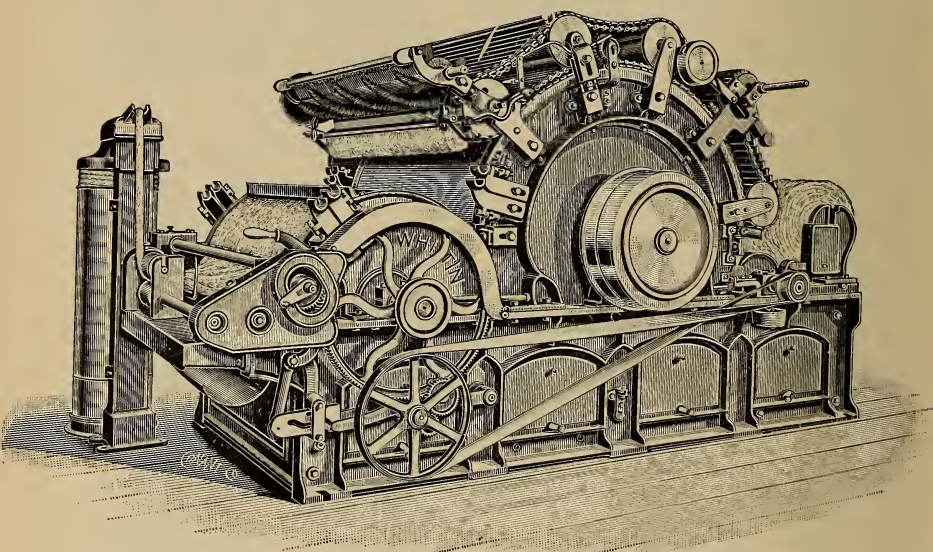
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WHITIN MACHINE WORKS

WHITINSVILLE, MASS.

Builders of

Cotton Machinery



Revolving Flat Card

Cards
Railway Heads
Sliver Lap Machines
Ribbon Lap Machines

Combing Machines
Drawing Frames
Spinning Frames
Spoolers

Twisters
Reels
Long Chain Quillers
Looms

Southern Agent - STUART W. CRAMER

TRUST BUILDING, CHARLOTTE, N. C.

EQUITABLE BUILDING, ATLANTA, GA.

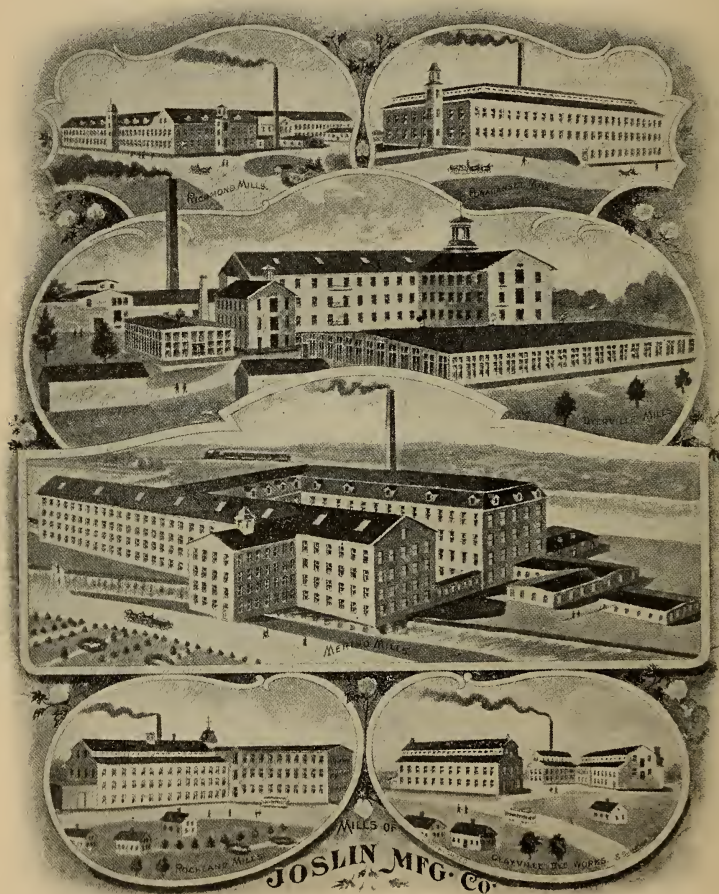
MECHANICAL FABRIC CO.

MANUFACTURERS OF

Rubber Thread
Card Cloths
Air Mattresses
and
Cushions
and other
Rubber Specialties



40 SPRAGUE STREET, PROVIDENCE, R. I.



MANUFACTURERS
OF
SHOE AND CORSET LACES
PROVIDENCE, R. I.

We make more

Cheap Jewelry

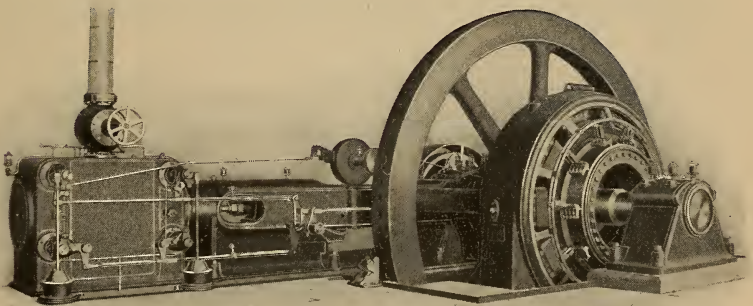
Than any House in
the World

Smith Bros.

Providence, R. I.

Providence Engineering Works

Providence, R. I.



***Builders of Rice & Sargent Engines
and Schmidt Patent Superheaters
Engineers and General Contractors***

Established 1873

Rhode Island Printing Co.

CHARLES C. GRAY, Proprietor

General Printers

60 Weybosset Street

Providence, R. I.

— THE —

James Hanley Brewing Company

Brewers of High-grade

Ales and Porter

Brewery, Jackson and Fountain Streets
Providence, R. I.

MONEY
TO LOAN
ON
HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE,
PIANOS, WATCHES
AND DIAMONDS.
WILLIAM H. DRAPER,
86 DORRANCE ST. COR. WEYBOSSET.

TRIPP & OLSEN

Tailors

No. 94 Westminster Street

Providence, R. I.

JOHN E. GOOD

FINE FAMILY

Liquors

39 to 47 Fountain Street

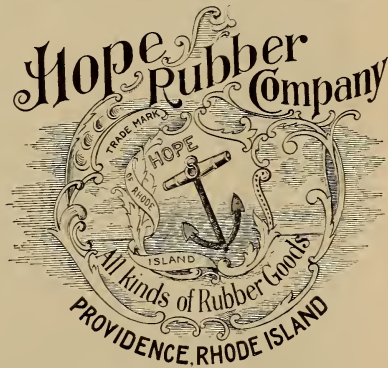
Branch Store

839 to 841 Westminster St.

PROVIDENCE, R. I.

Authorized bottler
of

HANLEY'S PEERLESS ALES



ISAAC CROCKER, Manager

Wholesale and Retail

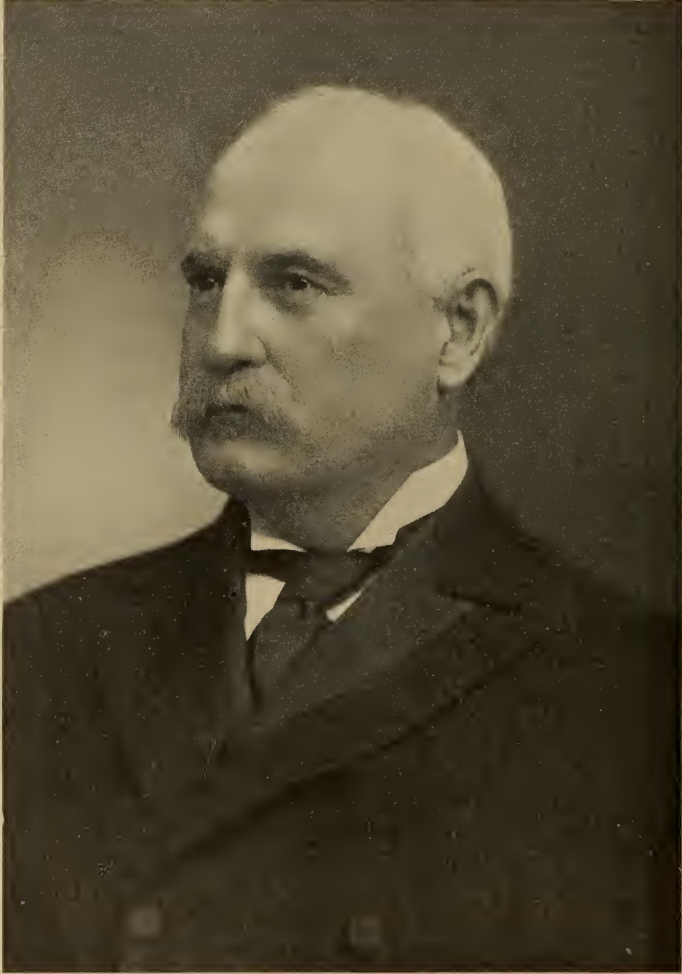
RUBBER GOODS

Largest Wholesale Rubber House in Rhode Island

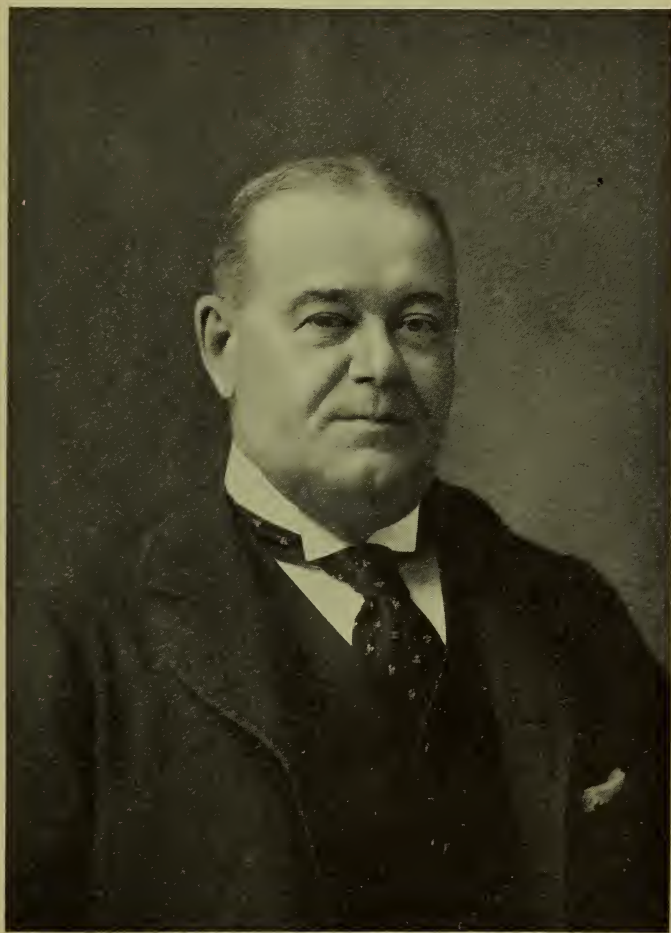
Rubber Coats, Boots and Shoes, Mackintoshes,
Rain-Coats, Police Capes, Motormen's Coats, Oil
Coats, Rubber Hats, Oil Hats, Rubber Aprons,
Oil Aprons, Rubber Sheeting, Rubber Collars,
Umbrellas.

Branch Stores in

Lawrence, Lowell and Brockton, Mass.



Hon. NELSON W. ALDRICH
Senior Senator from Rhode Island



SENATOR GEORGE PEABODY WETMORE



CAPTAIN OF
INDUSTRY

Get one of
our **STEEL
SAVINGS
BANKS** and
you will always
have a full
dinner
pail

OPEN A BANK ACCOUNT WITH
ONE DOLLAR AND WATCH
IT GROW....

CENTRAL TRUST COMPANY

171 WESTMINSTER ST., PROVIDENCE, R. I.

Will furnish FREE to every depositor A STEEL SAVINGS BANK
like the one shown above. ♦♦♦♦♦ Call and get one.

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1904 by C. T. Co.

The 1904 Republican

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The 1904 Republican

1843 **THE Mutual** 1904

TYLER, 1845
\$97,471.36



ROOSEVELT, 1904
\$401,821,661.66



LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY of NEW YORK

RICHARD A. McCURDY President



POLK, 1849
\$759,473.16



McKINLEY, 1901
\$329,783,162.51



TAYLOR, 1850
\$1,023,839.62



OLDEST
IN AMERICA

LARGEST
IN THE WORLD

Issued Its First Policy

in the days of John Tyler, February 1st, 1843, when its assets were sound principles and methods, and wisdom, energy and good faith.

To-day it holds the same assets, strengthened by unparalleled success for over sixty-one years—having paid its policy holders more than \$637,000,000 and holding in trust for them a safety fund of more than \$401,000,000.

The growth of the assets or safety fund of this company through the successive administrations is shown over the Presidents' pictures.

Rates for the most desirable forms of investment insurance will be furnished free on application.



PIERCE, 1867
\$9,939,463.65



CLEVELAND, 1897
\$236,746,169.42



BUCHANAN, 1861
\$7,837,969.12



HARRISON, 1865
\$176,085,186.61



LINCOLN, 1866
\$15,336,807.66



CLEVELAND, 1898
\$126,082,163.60



JOHNSON, 1869
\$31,634,366.76

GRANT, 1877
\$62,380,186.69

HAYES, 1881
\$91,736,786.02

GARFIELD, 1881
\$61,736,786.02

ARTHUR, 1886
\$106,926,176.61

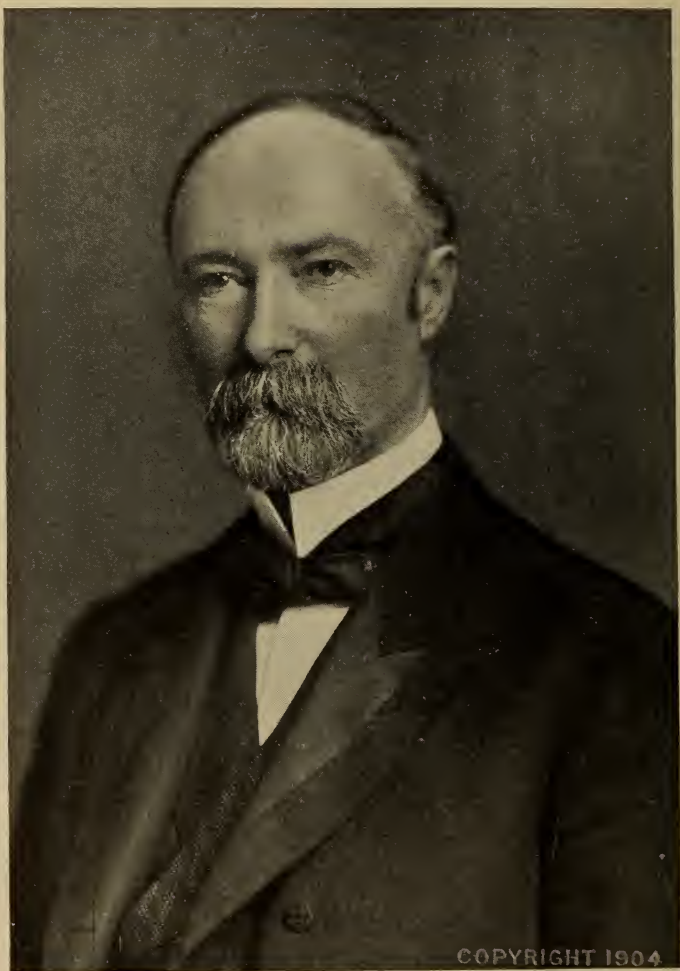
FREDERICK H. JACKSON, MANAGER

For the State of Rhode Island and
Bristol County, State of Massachusetts

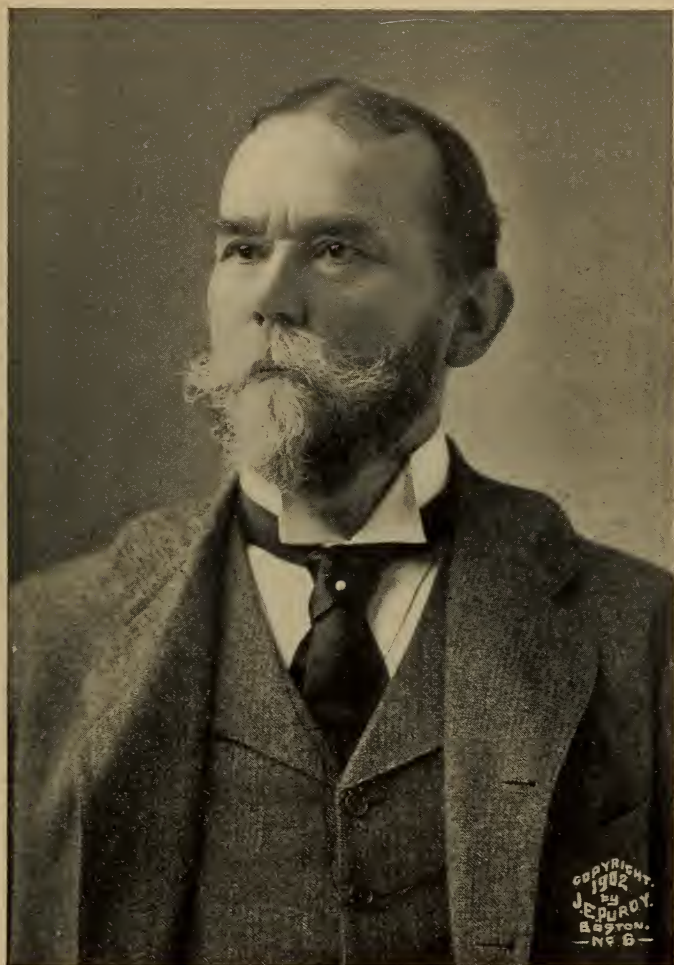
Room 202, Industrial Trust Co. Building
PROVIDENCE R. I.



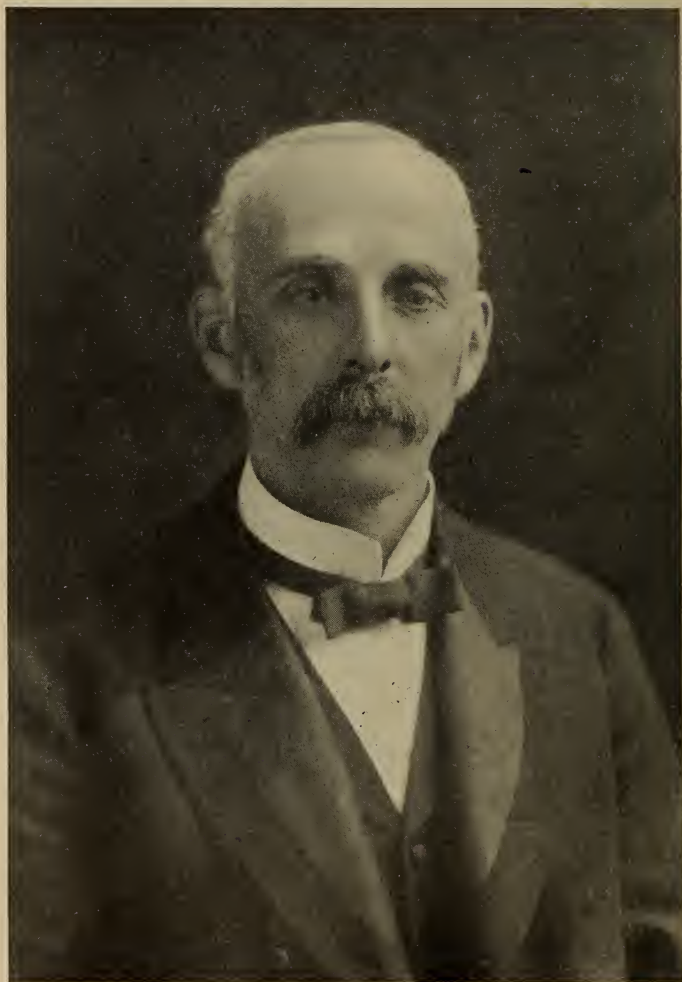
PRESIDENT THEODORE ROOSEVELT
OF NEW YORK



SENATOR CHARLES W. FAIRBANKS
OF INDIANA
REPUBLICAN NOMINEE FOR VICE-PRESIDENT



SECRETARY OF STATE JOHN HAY
OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA



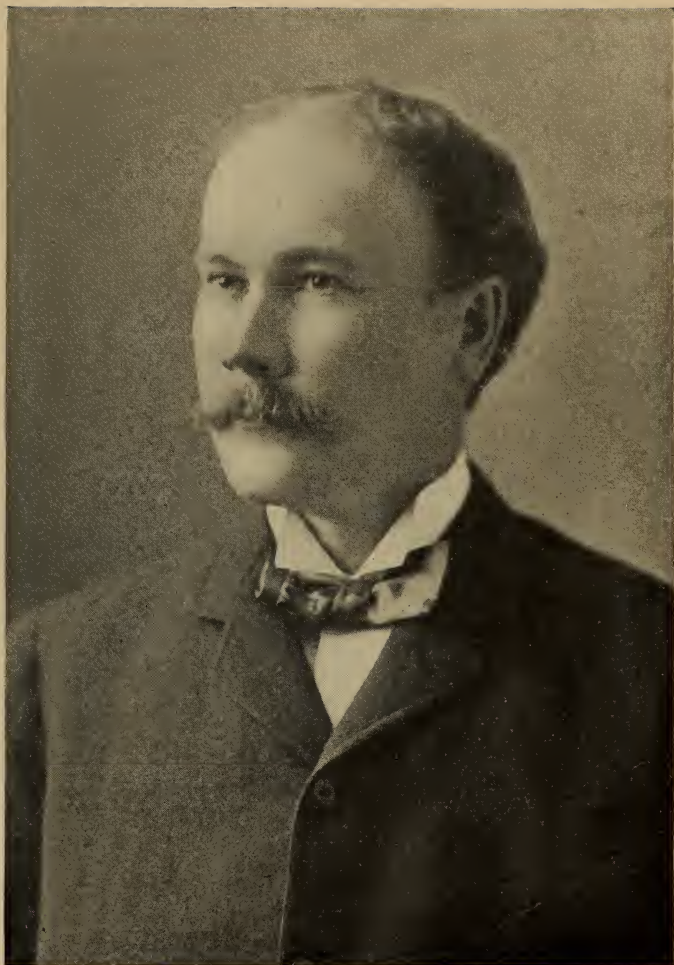
SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY LESLIE M. SHAW
OF IOWA



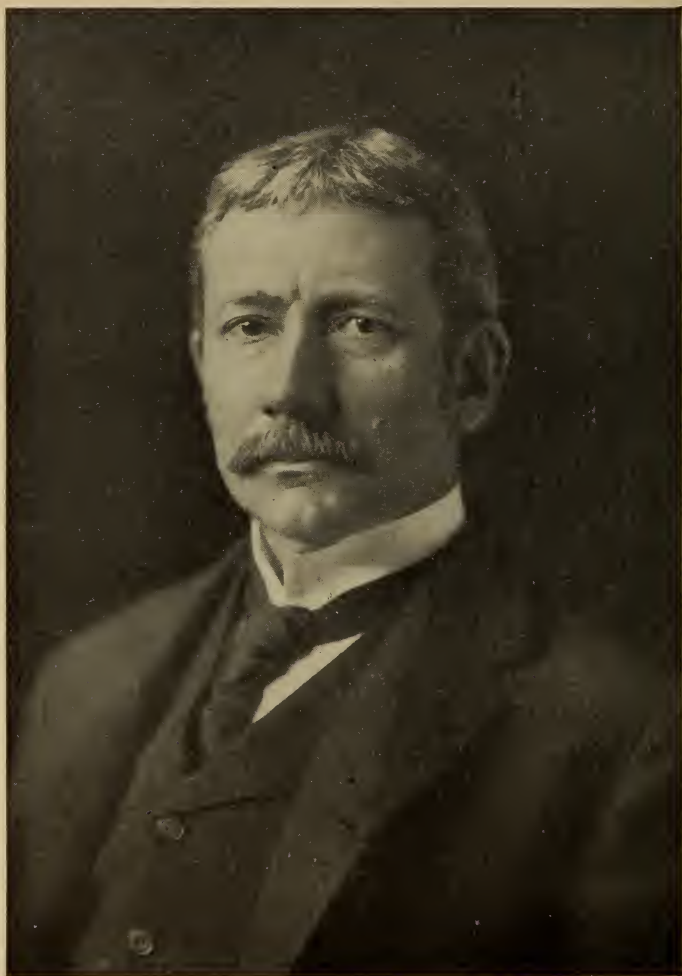
SECRETARY OF WAR WILLIAM H. TAFT
OF OHIO



ATTORNEY GENERAL AND FORMER SECRETARY OF THE NAVY
WILLIAM H. MOODY
OF MASSACHUSETTS



SECRETARY OF THE NAVY PAUL MORTON
OF NEBRASKA



Copyright, 1902, by Geo. Prince

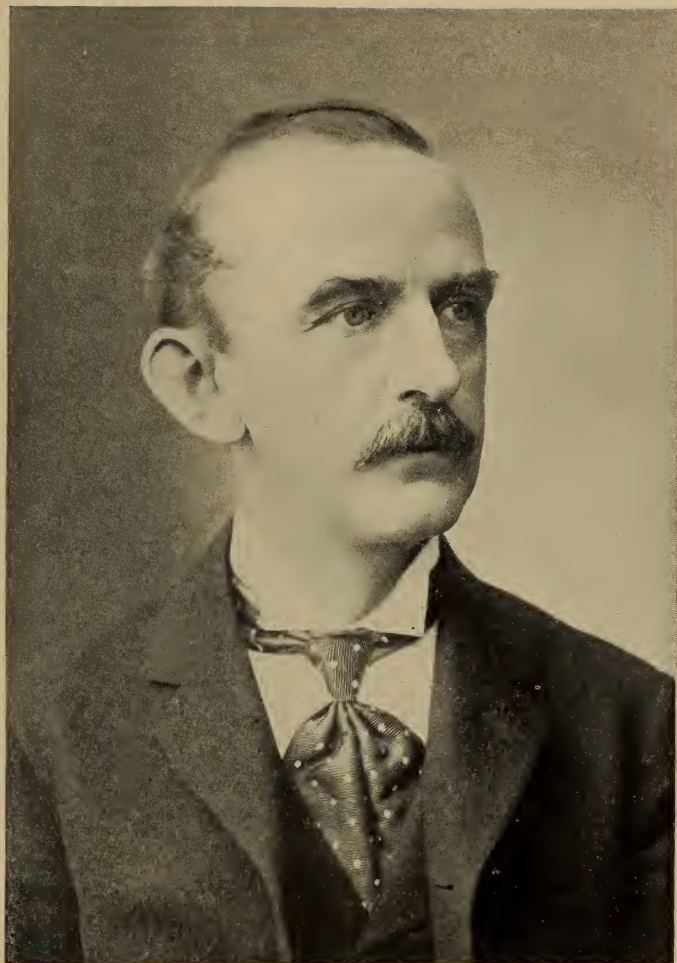
HON. ELIHU ROOT
OF NEW YORK
FORMER SECRETARY OF WAR



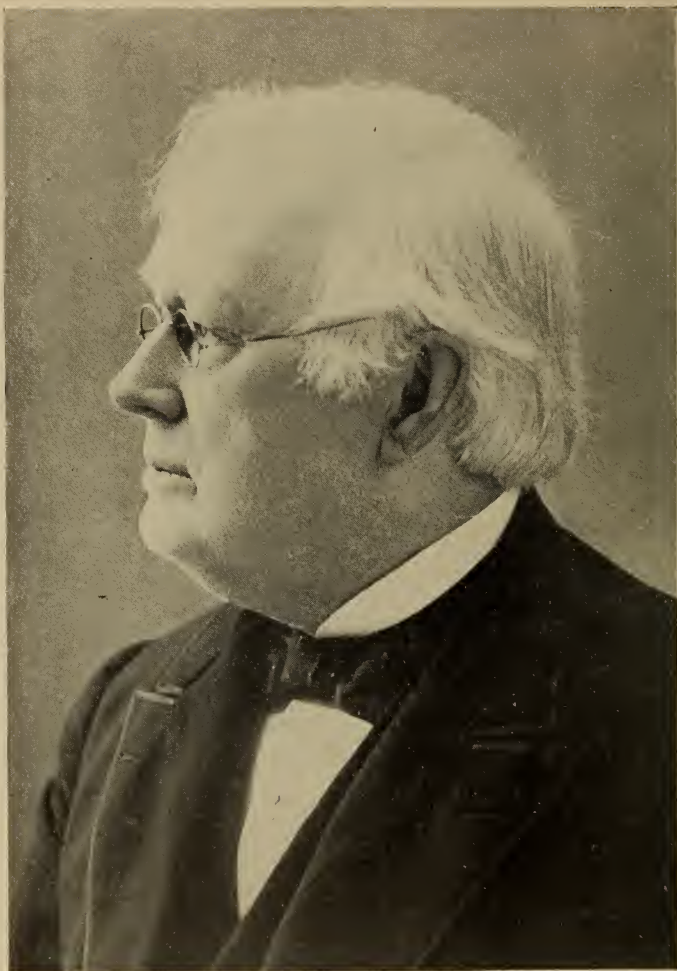
HON. GEORGE B. CORTELYOU
OF NEW YORK
CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE



HON. JOHN L. BATES
GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS



HON. W. MURRAY CRANE
FORMER GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS



HON. GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR

SENATOR FROM MASSACHUSETTS FROM MARCH 4, 1877
TO THE DAY OF HIS DEATH, OCTOBER 1 1904

Of all his colleagues who are now serving in the Senate, but two were Senators when he entered that body, Senators Allison and Cockrell; Senator Morgan alone remains of those who took the oath of office on the same day with him



SENATOR HENRY CABOT LODGE
OF MASSACHUSETTS



HON. ADIN B. CAPRON
PRESENT REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE 2D CONGRESSIONAL
DISTRICT OF RHODE ISLAND AND NOMINATED FOR
ANOTHER TERM



CHIEF JUSTICE JOHN H. STINESS
REPUBLICAN NOMINEE FOR REPRESENTATIVE TO CONGRESS FROM
1ST CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF RHODE ISLAND



LIEUT.-GOV. GEORGE H. UTTER
REPUBLICAN NOMINEE FOR GOVERNOR OF RHODE ISLAND

"It will inspire the toiling man of the country with the pleasant consciousness that the old Republican party, the party of Lincoln, of Grant, of McKinley, of Hanna, is offering for the Presidency a man, a worthy successor to them all and who stands invincible in his record of fealty to the best interests of the laboring man of the United States. '

ANSWERS TO CRITICISMS OF REPUBLICAN POSITION

SPEECH

OF

Hon. CHARLES H. GROSVENOR

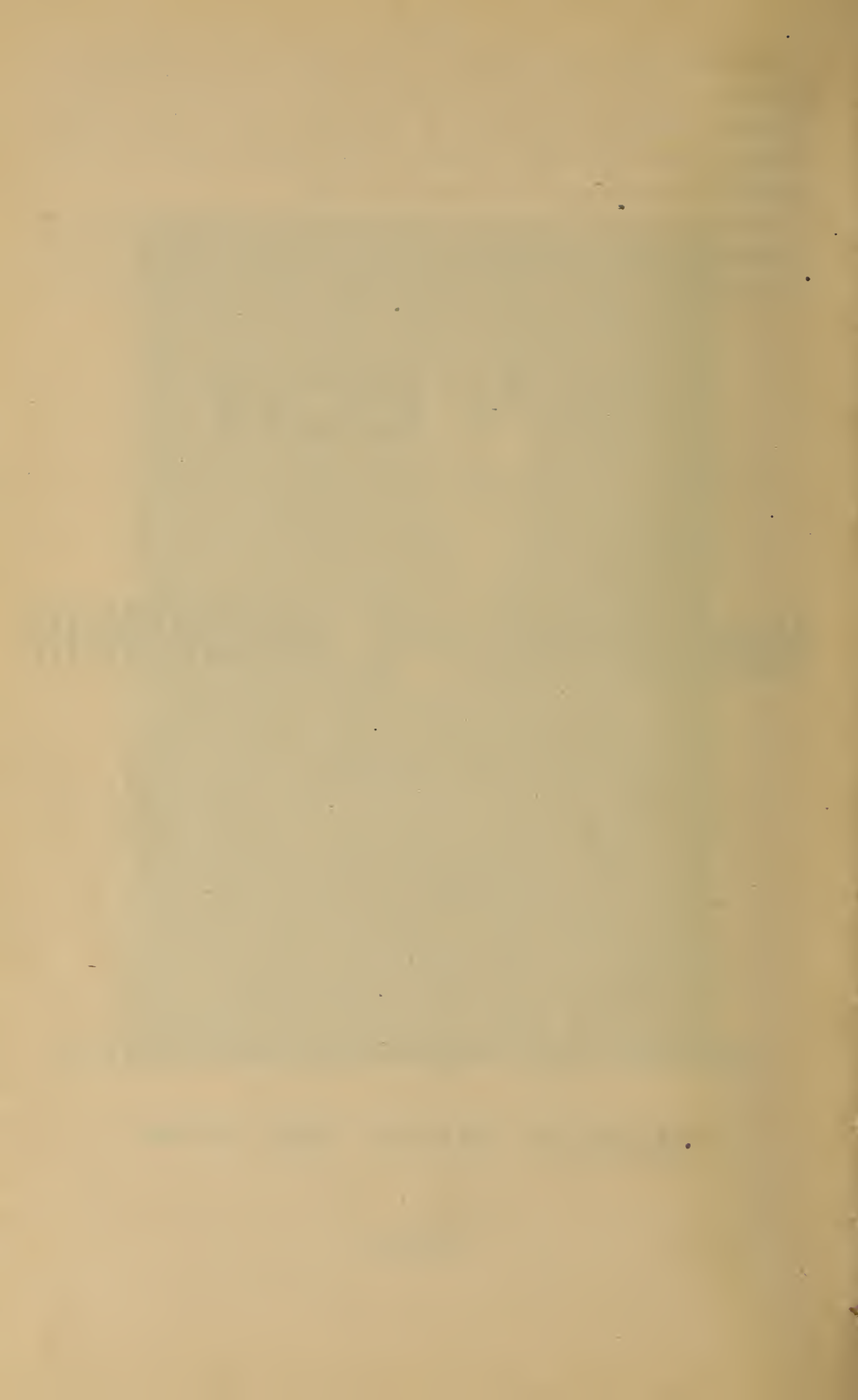
OF OHIO

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MONDAY, MARCH 28, 1904





SPEECH OF
HON. CHARLES H. GROSVENOR
OF OHIO

Mr. GROSVENOR said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: Judging by the character of the speech delivered in the House by my amiable friend from New York [Mr. FITZGERALD] some days ago, there is a likelihood that there will be much stress laid upon the record of individual candidates for the Presidency. For my own part I do not consider the record of a single individual, though holding the exalted position of President of the United States, as of such vital importance as the record of the party itself and the trend of events necessarily incident to the history and purposes of the party itself.

The Republican party can not be otherwise than the friend of labor. It has fought for free labor during its entire existence. It freed the slave; it furnished employment for labor; it lifted up the laboring man, and its last splendid achievement was when it transplanted labor from starvation, as it found it in 1897, and made it possible that it should attain the flourishing position it now occupies. But, catering to the taste of people to examine personal records to ascertain the acts of individuals, I shall furnish here to-day the record of the gentleman who will be the Republican candidate for President. It will furnish good reading for the campaign into which we are so rapidly moving. It will give our Democratic friends food for thought, and it will inspire the toiling man of the country with the pleasant consciousness that the old Republican party, the party of Lincoln, of Grant, of McKinley, of Hanna, is offering for the Presidency a man, a worthy successor to them all and who stands invincible in his record of fealty to the best interests of the laboring man of the United States.

LABOR RECORD OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

The most vital problem with which this country, and for that matter the whole civilized world, has to deal—

Said President Roosevelt in his first message to Congress—

is the problem which has for one side the betterment of social conditions, moral and physical, in large cities and for another side the effort to deal with that tangle of far-reaching questions which we group together when we speak of "labor."

**EPITOME OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT'S FAVORABLE ACTION ON
LABOR LEGISLATION.**

As member of assembly in New York he voted for bills—

Abolishing tenement-house cigar making in New York City.

Restricting child labor in factories and workshops.

Regulating the labor hours of minors and women in manufacturing establishments.

Safeguarding the lives and limbs of factory operatives.

Regulating wage rates of laborers employed by municipalities.

Making employees preferred creditors.

Providing for building mechanics' liens.

Prescribing the lien rights of working women.

Protecting mechanics and laborers engaged in sinking oil or gas wells.

Abolishing contract child labor in reformatory institutions.

Creating a commission to examine into the operation of the contract system of employing convicts.

Establishing the bureau of labor statistics.

To promote industrial peace.

For a five-cent fare on the New York City elevated railroad.

Incorporating the New York City Free Circulating Library.

For free public baths in New York City.

As governor of New York he approved these measures:

Creating a tenement-house commission.

Regulating sweat-shop labor.

Empowering the factory inspector to enforce the scaffolding law.

Directing the factory inspector to enforce the act regulating labor hours on railroads.

Making the eight-hour and prevailing-rate-of-wages laws effective.

Amending the factory act—

(1) Protecting employees at work on buildings.

(2) Regulating the working time of female employees.

(3) Providing that stairways shall be properly lighted.

(4) Prohibiting the operation of dangerous machinery by children.

(5) Prohibiting women and minors working on polishing or buffing wheels.

(6) Providing for seats for waitresses in hotels and restaurants.

Shortening the working hours of drug clerks.

Increasing the salaries of New York City school-teachers.

Extending to other engineers the law licensing New York City engineers and making it a misdemeanor for violating the same.

Licensing stationary engineers in Buffalo.

Providing for the examination and registration of horseshoers in cities.

Registration of laborers for municipal employment.

Relating to air brakes on freight trains.

Providing means for the issuance of quarterly bulletins by the bureau of labor statistics.

In addition to the foregoing, while governor of New York he recommended legislation (which the legislature failed to pass) in regard to—

Employers' liability.

State control of employment offices.

State ownership of printing plant.

Devising means whereby free mechanics shall not be brought into competition with prison labor.

As President of the United States he has signed bills—

Renewing the Chinese-exclusion act and extending its provision to the island territory of the United States.

Prohibiting the employment of Mongolian labor on irrigation works and providing that eight hours shall constitute a day's labor on such projects.

Abolishing slavery and involuntary servitude in the Philippine Islands, violation of the act being punishable by forfeiture of contracts and a fine of not less than \$10,000.

Protecting the lives of employees in coal mines in Territories by regulating the amount of ventilation and providing that entries, etc., shall be kept well dampened with water to cause coal dust to settle.

Exempting from taxation in the District of Columbia household belongings to the value of \$1,000, wearing apparel, libraries, schoolbooks, family portraits, and heirlooms.

Requiring proprietors of employment offices in the District of Columbia to pay a license tax of \$10 per year.

Creating the Department of Commerce and Labor and making its head a Cabinet officer.

Improving the act relating to safety appliances on railways.

Increasing the restrictions upon the immigration of cheap foreign labor and prohibiting the landing of alien anarchists.

WEAL OF THE PLAIN PEOPLE.

While the labor problem in a very broad sense is as old as the human race itself, its modern form is a creation of steam and machinery, which have replaced local production within the home for family needs with factory production for a general market. In the course of this evolution the ownership of the tools and other means of production passed from their actual uses to those who understood the needs of the market and possessed the ability to assemble materials, organize the workers, and dispose of the product where it was wanted. Formerly each worker was both capitalist and laborer, and, therefore, himself controlled the conditions under which he worked. But when the worker lost the ownership of his tools he could no longer control the conditions of employment; and it is his struggle to regain such control and to gain a larger share of the joint product of capital and labor that constitutes the modern labor problem. This is the problem that President Roosevelt in his first message to Congress described as the most vital problem with which the country has to deal. Few statesmen of this or any other country have grasped that problem as firmly as has Mr. Roosevelt. His contributions to its solution may be found not only in his addresses and writings, but also in his actions as a public official.

Theodore Roosevelt ever will be remembered as an official whose interest in the weal of the plain people never diminished from the day that he commenced his public career as a member of assembly of the State of New York up to the present time. The principles of justice that governed his course in advocating the enactment of labor and reform legislation when he took part in the legislative proceedings at Albany in 1882, 1883, and 1884 were unswervingly maintained while he was governor of New York in 1899 and 1900, and have been conscientiously adhered to during his incumbency as President of the United States. By comparing the first important event connected with his life work with one of more recent date it will be readily observed how unvarying have been his views on matters of moment affecting the general community.

The initial event referred to occurred more than twenty years ago, when, in the interest of the public health, as well as the wage-workers in the tobacco industry, he vigorously opposed the continuance of the sweating system in the manufacture of cigars in tenement houses. The courageous spirit that prompted his attitude in that affair was demonstrated again in 1902, when, owing to his timely intervention in the celebrated anthracite coal strike, peace was restored, a terrible calamity to the country was averted, and an adjustment of the dispute finally resulted through the decision of the commission appointed by him. Not a few problems have reached solution by reason of the wisdom displayed by Theodore Roosevelt and other advanced thinkers whose support he has had in his unremitting efforts to induce the State to pass laws looking to the melioration of social conditions, and by pursuing this evolutionary plan of creating wise and sound regulations to obviate glaring inequalities in the industrial system the State has checked a growing spirit of unrest.

Deeds speak for themselves, and the facts enumerated below respecting his position on questions involving the well-being of the great body of working people are matters of official record well worth close perusal and careful consideration by men of thought and action who have at heart the stability of our republican form of government.

AS MEMBER OF THE NEW YORK ASSEMBLY.

New York State has developed an extensive system of labor and reform legislation. The movement that eventually brought about the enactment of these laws commenced in the fore part of the eighties, and Theodore Roosevelt helped to lay its foundation, being among the few eminent publicists who cooperated in that early effort to place upon the statute books the numerous acts that have since proved to be of so much benefit to the wage-workers.

In 1882 he entered public life as member of assembly, and he also served in that capacity in 1883 and 1884. A student of economics, he had familiarized himself with the various phases of the labor question, and he was firm in the belief that the abuses which at that time existed in many employments could be eradicated by suitable enactments. With this end in view, he cast his influence on the side of public-spirited citizens and trade-unionists who during that period undertook to solve some of the social problems through legislative measures calculated to correct prevalent evils. Sweat-shop labor was a subject that received considerable attention in those days, while the restriction of child labor, the regulation of working hours of minors and women, the protection of life and limb, prison labor under the contract system, the better security of mechanics and laborers employed in the building industry, and the promotion of industrial peace were topics that occasioned serious deliberation on the part of the men who interested themselves in the welfare of the masses.

It was not altogether popular then to espouse a cause designed to bring about radical changes in industrial conditions, and the spectacle of this young statesman, although born and reared amid surroundings of affluence and luxury, actively identifying himself with a movement in which the working people were vitally concerned won for him the commendation of not only all labor advocates and social reformers, but likewise of that large portion of the populace in whose behalf he so zealously labored. His strong personality and energetic attitude imparted to the effort a needed impetus, and the outcome surpassed the expectations of even the most sanguine of those who were associated in that undertaking to uplift their fellows. The excellent labor record of Assemblyman Roosevelt is quite fully presented in the succeeding paragraphs.

ABOLITION OF TENEMENT-HOUSE CIGAR FACTORIES.

The first important measure in which Assemblyman Roosevelt became interested was introduced in the legislature of 1882. Its purpose was to improve the public health in New York City by prohibiting the manufacture of cigars or the preparation of tobacco in any form in rooms or apartments of tenement houses. The bill was presented at the request of the cigar makers' unions in the State, and was also indorsed by the State Workingmen's Assembly. It was contended by the labor organizations, "first, that these tenement-house cigar factories are a public nuisance; second, that they are detrimental to the educational interests of the State; third, that they are demoralizing in their influence on the community; fourth, that they are an illegitimate interference with a legitimate trade."

In the assembly the bill was referred to the committee on cities, which gave a hearing on the subject, and as a result a subcommittee consisting of five assemblymen, Mr. Roosevelt being among the number, was selected to investigate the tenement-house cigar factories in New York City. Many of these house shops were found to be in a filthy and unsanitary condition, and this inquiry so thoroughly convinced Theodore Roosevelt that the system was a menace to the public health that he became an enthusiastic supporter of the measure to abolish it. It, however, was held up by the cities committee, and, on a motion that that committee be discharged from further consideration of the bill, the same to be placed on general orders, he voted in the

affirmative. While the motion was carried, the bill did not pass at the session of 1882, but early in 1883 it was again considered and passed by both houses. Assemblyman Roosevelt spoke and voted in its favor. In his remarks advocating the abolition of the tenement-house shop he declared:

I have visited these pest holes personally, and I can assure you if smokers could only see how these cigars are made we would not need any legislative action against this system at all.

The Cigar Makers' Official Journal, published by the Cigar Makers' International Union, in its issue for February, 1883, printed the following editorial comment under the caption "Condemned by the legislature:"

The representatives of the people, both in the assembly and in the senate, have decided by overwhelming majorities that tenement-house cigar factories are a public nuisance, dangerous to the sanitary, moral, educational, and economic welfare of the Commonwealth. So conclusive were the arguments and evidence brought forward by Assemblymen George Francis Roesch and Theodore Roosevelt that the opposition was completely routed and defeated. The working classes and cigar makers in particular owe a debt of gratitude to those assemblymen and senators who have successfully fought for a great sanitary reform. Their names will go down to posterity as the friends of labor, as the promoters of a great improvement in the sanitary condition of the working classes.

So deeply interested in the matter was Mr. Roosevelt that he invoked the governor to approve the measure. Referring to the argument before that official, the Cigar Makers' Official Journal for March, 1883, contained this statement:

Tuesday, March 8, was the day which the governor had assigned for hearing the arguments of the opponents as well as of the friends of the bill, which aims at the prohibition of the manufacture of cigars in tenement houses used for dwelling purposes. * * * Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, the representative of the brownstone district of New York, was the first speaker in favor of the bill. He said that his district was not influenced by any trades unions; * * * but this bill was an exception to the rule. During the last session of the legislature he was appointed on a committee to investigate the tenement-house cigar factories.

At the start he was opposed to the bill, but the investigation convinced him that it was a good one. The houses, with hardly a single exception, were in a most filthy condition. Children were crawling on stripped tobacco. Old men and women were crowded together in small, ill-ventilated rooms. He appealed to the governor to sign the bill. The representatives of the labor organizations, after a short deliberation, concluded not to speak on the subject, inasmuch as the whole ground had been ably covered and it was unwise to detain the governor any longer.

The bill was signed, but certain parts of the act were declared unconstitutional, and in 1884 a measure intended to meet the objections of the courts was introduced in the legislature. This was also favored by Mr. Roosevelt.

ABOLITION OF CONTRACT CHILD LABOR IN REFORMATORY INSTITUTIONS

An important reform measure, which had the sanction of organized workers, was introduced in the assembly of 1882. It made it unlawful for the trustees or managers of any house of refuge, reformatory, or other correctional institution to contract, hire, or let the services or labor of children incarcerated in such institutions. Assemblyman Roosevelt voted in favor of the bill, and it subsequently became a law.

REGULATING WAGE RATES OF LABORERS EMPLOYED BY MUNICIPALITIES.

A bill was introduced in 1882 in the assembly to regulate the rate of wages in all cities of the State of over 150,000 inhabitants for laborers employed by or under municipal authorities. Mr. Roosevelt had always believed that the State and muni-

cipalities should be model employers by paying prevailing wage rates. He therefore favored this measure. A motion to recommit it to the committee on cities with instructions to strike out the enacting clause, thus killing it, met with his opposition, his vote being enrolled with those of thirty-three other assemblymen against the motion, which, nevertheless, was carried, fifty-six members voting in the affirmative.

SAFEGUARDING LIFE AND LIMB IN FACTORIES.

In 1882 there was a dearth of legislation relating to sanitation, safeguards against fire, and the guarding of machinery, hoistways, and elevators in manufacturing establishments. In that year the life-and-limb bill made its appearance in the legislature, being entitled "An act for the protection of working people and employees in the workshops and factories in the cities of this State." Mr. Roosevelt promptly joined the forces that sought the adoption of this salutary bill, which was also presented in 1883, when it again received his vote, and while cogent reasons for its enactment into law were advanced it did not then reach the statute books; but the thorough discussion of its meritorious features made a marked impression upon public opinion, arousing a sentiment that ultimately compelled the lawmaking powers to pass an act containing requirements that amply protected the lives and limbs of factory operatives.

FREE PUBLIC BATHS IN NEW YORK CITY.

Bills were introduced in the legislature in 1882 and 1883 for the construction and maintenance of free public baths in New York City. These conveniences were desired by the laboring people of that city, and consequently on each occasion Mr. Roosevelt's vote was recorded in favor of their erection.

ESTABLISHING THE BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS.

There was in 1883 a widespread agitation among workingmen for the establishment of a bureau of labor statistics in New York, and in that year a measure to create that department was presented in the legislature. Mr. Roosevelt was an ardent supporter of the bill. In due season it passed both houses and was signed by the governor. This law provided for the appointment of a commissioner, who was empowered to collect, assort, systematize, and present in annual reports to the legislature statistical details relating to all departments of labor, especially in relation to the commercial, industrial, and social condition of working people.

LIEN RIGHTS OF WORKING WOMEN.

For the further protection of female employees in New York City a bill was introduced at the 1883 session of the assembly. It provided for the enforcement of judgments obtained in any court by working women for work, labor, or services done, and Mr. Roosevelt's vote was registered in its favor.

5-CENT FARE ON THE NEW YORK CITY ELEVATED RAILROAD.

The people of New York City in 1883 took active steps to have the fare on the elevated railroad reduced from 10 cents to 5 cents. Commission trains were run at certain hours in the morning and evening, it was declared, "for the accommodation of the public and the laboring classes," upon which the fare was 5 cents, while during other portions of the day 10 cents was charged.

But the public wanted the lower rate to predominate at all hours, so a bill providing for the desirable reduction was drafted and introduced in the legislature. It passed the assembly and senate, Mr. Roosevelt voting with the majority in the former house. The governor, however, vetoed the measure, claiming that it was a violation of a contract that was protected by the United States Constitution, which prohibited

the passage of a law by any State impairing the obligation of contracts; and the executive also held that the State "must keep within the limits of law and good faith." Apparently moved by the popular demonstration for the proposed change in the fare, the elevated railroad management shortly afterwards voluntarily decreased it to 5 cents.

TO PROMOTE INDUSTRIAL PEACE.

A resolution that proved to be a prelude to the creation, a few years later, of the State board of mediation and arbitration was offered in the assembly of 1883. As it was the entering wedge to a plan to promote industrial peace, Mr. Roosevelt voted for its adoption. It directed the judiciary committee—

To examine and report upon the possible enactment of a practical and beneficial law, to be in the joint interests of capital and labor, and employees and employers, whereby the latter shall be required to give reasonable and timely notice of dismissals from service, except for moral or personal consequences, and of the reduction of wages, and the former a like timely and reasonable notice of any advance in wages and time for leaving work, the object and purpose of this inquiry being to prevent summary strikes from work without proper notice, and summary dismissal from work without a like notice, and to secure, if possible, such conferences and compromises as will establish friendly, just, and equitable relations to the advantage of both classes of citizens and to the people at large.

PROTECTION OF MECHANICS AND LABORERS ENGAGED IN SINKING OIL OR GAS WELLS.

During the legislative session of 1883 a bill was introduced in the assembly for the protection of mechanics and laborers. It was a lien measure to secure the wages of workmen employed in or about the sinking, drilling, or completing of any oil well, or any well sunk or drilled for oil or gas, or in the erection of any tank or other receptacle for oil, gas, or water. Mr. Roosevelt voted for its passage.

'BUILDING MECHANICS' LIENS.

When the organized workers in the constructive industry succeeded in having submitted to the legislature of 1884 a mechanics' lien bill, the purpose of which was to prevent the loss of wages of men engaged in the construction or repair of buildings, they discovered a sincere adherent of their cause in Assemblyman Roosevelt. While they did not then succeed in carrying their project through, they were greatly encouraged by the support they received, and this inspired them to make another attempt in a subsequent year to secure legislation for the better security of mechanics and laborers who perform labor for building and other improvements on lands in New York State. Finally they attained their object.

INCORPORATING THE NEW YORK CITY FREE CIRCULATING LIBRARY.

With a view to giving the working people of New York City an opportunity to fully enjoy the advantages of such an institution, Mr. Roosevelt, in the assembly of 1883, voted to incorporate the New York Free Circulating Library.

FOR THE RESTRICTION OF CHILD LABOR.

In 1883 and 1884 the subject of child labor evoked considerable discussion in New York State. The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children had made futile attempts to induce legislative action to restrict it.

Humane physicians expressed the opinion that the strength for perfect physical development of children of tender years employed in factories was diverted from its legitimate ends, thereby producing in adult life, if these children were fortunate enough to be spared to maturity, an impairment of the physical and mental organization;

that confinement in poorly ventilated workrooms in constrained positions was unhealthful, tended to make the system more susceptible to attacks of diseases and lessened the chances to rally from ordinary disorders incident to childhood; that the fatigue of labor was directly injurious by preventing free bodily exercise in the fresh air, and indirectly affected the sanitary condition of the child by substituting unnatural labor for natural exercise, and that these conditions caused the whole moral tone to suffer.

Educators were convinced that children thus employed were deprived of an opportunity to acquire an elementary education, that the standard of intelligence among them was astonishingly low, and that the pernicious system was fatal to the mental growth of the rising generation. The bureau of labor statistics investigated the question and found that a large percentage of the children in the State "were compelled either by their parents or the force of circumstances to spend a large portion of their young lives in factories, mills, or tenements, where but slight, if any, attention seems to be paid to those safeguards which are conducive to good health. If the present system of child labor is to be permitted to continue, it should be the first duty of the State to provide precautionary and effective means to secure the enforcement of proper sanitary regulations in factories, mills, or tenements where children are employed or domiciled."

Organized labor strenuously protested against the continuance of child labor, and resolved to invoke the legislature to pass a law that would abolish it. The State Workingmen's Assembly, in annual session at Albany in 1884, adopted a bill which provided that—

No child under 14 years of age shall be employed in any factory or workshop where goods are manufactured from the raw material, that no child between the ages of 14 or 16 shall be so employed unless such child shall have attended within twelve months immediately preceding such employment some public day or night school or some well-recognized private school, such attendance to be for five days or evenings every week during a period of at least twenty consecutive weeks.

This measure also contained a section—

REGULATING THE LABOR HOURS OF MINORS AND FEMALES.

It provided that—

No minor or no female of whatever age shall be employed in any factory, workshop, or mill for a longer period than ten hours a day, and in no case shall the hours of labor exceed sixty in a week.

Provision was made for the appointment of a factory inspector to enforce the law, each violation being a misdemeanor punishable by fine or imprisonment in jail. This was introduced in the legislature of 1884, and Assemblyman Roosevelt ably supported it through its various stages. In 1883 he voted for a bill constructed on similar lines. Neither measure, however, was then incorporated in the State's code of laws, but the agitation thus begun in favor of this remedial legislation resulted in its passage in 1886.

MAKING EMPLOYEES PREFERRED CREDITORS.

Assemblyman Roosevelt voted for that beneficial act, passed in 1884, which made working people preferred creditors in case of insolvency of their employers. This law stipulated that in all assignments the wages or salaries actually owing to the employees of assignors at the time of the execution of the assignment shall be preferred before any other debt. In the event of the assets being insufficient to pay in full all the claims preferred they shall be applied to payment at the same pro rata to the amount of each such claim.

COMMISSION TO EXAMINE INTO THE OPERATION OF THE CONTRACT SYSTEM OF EMPLOYING CONVICTS.

Mr. Roosevelt voted for the bill, which became law in February, 1884, empowering the governor to appoint five persons to constitute a commission to examine into and report upon the practical operation of the contract system for the employment of convicts in State prisons, penitentiaries, and reformatories, as then required by law, and particularly as to the effect of such employment upon the community at large, upon prison management, and upon the discipline of prisoners, the commissioners to report their conclusions, with such recommendations as they deemed proper as to the best method of employing convict labor, to the legislature not later than March 1 of that year.

The commission was chosen on February 11, and as it had but sixteen days to inquire into the subject and report thereon was unable to accomplish the object for which it was created. An effort was made to continue its existence, and a bill was presented to amend the act so as to provide that the terms of the commissioners should continue until their report was made, at the earliest practical date consistent with the performance of their duties. Mr. Roosevelt voted for this proposition, but the measure was vetoed on the ground that it did not contemplate a report at that session of the legislature.

AS GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK.

While governor of New York, in 1899 and 1900, Theodore Roosevelt pursued the same consistent course in regard to the enactment of suitable labor legislation that he so persistently followed during his three years' career as member of assembly. Not only did he recommend the passage of new laws in the interest of the mass of the people, but he urged the necessity of amending existent labor statutes so as to make them more efficacious, and suggested the adoption of improved methods in order to insure their proper enforcement.

The development in extent and variety of industries has necessitated legislation in the interest of labor—

He wrote in his annual message to the legislature of 1899.

This legislation is not necessarily against the interest of capital; on the contrary, if wisely devised, it is for the benefit of both laborers and employers. We have very wisely passed many laws for the benefit of labor, in themselves good and for the time being sufficient, but experience has shown that the full benefit of these laws is not obtained through the lack of proper means of enforcing them and the failure to make any one department responsible for their enforcement. In order that the desire of the people, definitely expressed in this wholesome legislation, shall be made effective, I recommend that the enforcement of the entire body of legislation relating to labor be placed under the board of factory inspectors. This would simplify the whole question of labor legislation and place the responsibility for its enforcement where it properly belongs and would also give the maximum efficiency of service with the minimum cost to the State. With a slight increase in the general force of factory inspectors this work can be done for the whole State and the object of the legislation be satisfactorily secured to the people.

ADDITIONAL FACTORY INSPECTORS RECOMMENDED AND PROVIDED.

Governor Roosevelt thereupon recommended "that the legislature provide for additional factory inspectors so as to bring the total number up to fifty." This suggestion was favorably considered by the legislature, and the number of deputy factory inspectors was increased from thirty-six to fifty.

EMPOWERING THE FACTORY INSPECTORS TO ENFORCE THE PROVISIONS OF THE SCAFFOLDING LAW.

In the same message Governor Roosevelt said:

Another important statute of this character relates to providing secure scaffolding in the erection of new buildings. The law on this subject is all that could be desired, but its enforcement is left to the city police, and as a matter of fact practically no provision is made for carrying it into effect. In New York City, where this law is most needed, police officers are unacquainted with the character and requirements of the law. Most of them, indeed, are not aware that the enforcement of this law is any part of their duty.

This recommendation resulted in the passage of an amendment to section 19 of the labor law, relating to the inspection of scaffolding, or slings, hangers, blocks, pulleys, stays, braces, ladders, irons, or ropes of any swinging or stationary scaffolding used in the construction, alteration, repairing, painting, cleaning, or pointing of buildings within the limits of a city, transferring the power of enforcing its provisions from the municipal police authorities to the factory inspector.

DIRECTING THE FACTORY INSPECTORS TO ENFORCE THE ACT REGULATING HOURS OF LABOR ON RAILROADS.

The message of Governor Roosevelt in 1899 also contained the following suggestion:

The law regulating the hours of labor on surface railroads is also an excellent provision against the tendency to work the men an almost unlimited number of hours. The enforcement of this law is left to the railroad commissioners. As they have no active force to use for such a purpose the law fails by default, except when individual citizens undertake the prosecution. The employee himself will rarely or never complain for fear of being discharged.

In accordance with this recommendation authority to enforce the sections of the act relative to the hours of labor on steam, street, surface, and elevated railroads was conferred upon the factory inspector.

AN EIGHT-HOUR DAY AT PREVAILING RATES OF WAGES.

The law requiring an eight-hour day and a prevailing rate of wages for State employees—

Said Governor Roosevelt in his 1899 message to the legislature—

is not entrusted to any authority for enforcement. If this law is to remain on the statute books it should be enforced, and therefore the legislature should make it the particular business of somebody to enforce it.

Conformably with the wishes of the executive, the factory-inspection department was vested with the power to enforce this act, which was further amended so as to provide that—

Each contract to which the State or a municipal corporation is a party which may involve the employment of laborers, workmen, or mechanics shall contain a stipulation that no laborer, workman, or mechanic in the employ of the contractor, subcontractor, or other person doing or contracting to do the whole or a part of the work contemplated by the contractor, shall be permitted or required to work more than eight hours in any one calendar day, except in cases of extraordinary emergency caused by fire, flood, or danger to life or property.

Each contract for such public work hereafter made shall contain a provision that the same shall be void and of no effect unless the person or corporation making or performing the same shall comply with the provisions of this section, and no such person or corporation shall be entitled to receive any sum, nor shall any officer, agent or employee of the State or municipal corporation pay the same or authorize its pay-

ment from the funds under his charge or control to any such person or corporation for work done upon any contract which in its form or manner of performance violates the provision of this section.

UNECONOMIC, UNWHOLESOME, AND UNAMERICAN SWEAT-SHOP SYSTEM.

Governor Roosevelt's opinion concerning the evils of sweat-shop labor, that he formed while member of assembly as a result of his searching inquiry into the unhealthy tenement-house system of manufacturing cigars, did not undergo a change during the seventeen years that intervened between 1882, when the investigation was made, and 1899. In truth his views on the subject in the latter year, when he urged the legislature to adopt radical measures to suppress the harmful system, were even more pronounced than those to which he gave utterance while serving as an assemblyman. These were his ideas in 1899, as expressed in his annual message.

Another very important phase of this subject is the sweat-shop system, which is practically the conversion of the poorest class of living apartments into unwholesome pest-creating and crime-breeding workshops. Laws have been enacted by the legislature to suppress this vile phase of industrial life in our large cities by prohibiting the use of dwellings for the purposes of manufacture. Although the law is quite explicit and the intention of the legislature obvious, great difficulty has been experienced in its effective enforcement. It is everywhere agreed that this tenement-house or sweat-shop system is degrading to the unfortunate individuals engaged in it and to the social and moral life of the community in which it exists. How to enforce the law on this subject has perplexed the statesmen of other countries and States as well as our own.

The most effective and unobtrusive means yet devised for accomplishing this end is that recently adopted by Massachusetts, viz., providing that buildings used for manufacturing purposes must have a permit or license, such license or permit to be granted only on condition that the appointment of the building fulfill the requirements of the law for manufacturing purposes. These permits or licenses ought to be granted by the board of factory inspectors, who should be held responsible for the proper inspection of the buildings and the enforcement of the law.

There are several reasons why this simple method would be effective. It would at once classify buildings used for manufacturing purposes, as a building so used without a permit would be violating the law. It would prevent much friction, because all requirements of the law would have to be fulfilled before the building was used. This would be a great advantage in the erection of new buildings, as proper conveniences, including accessible fire escapes, guarded elevators, and other appointments would be required and easily furnished when new buildings were being erected or when old ones were being changed for manufacturing purposes.

Nor does this involve any radical innovation. It is simply applying the recognized principle upon which boards of health now everywhere act in requiring that the plans for erecting new buildings or alterations of old ones must be submitted to the building and health department and a certificate of approval granted before the building can be erected, alterations made, or the premises occupied. Legitimate manufacturers will not object to this, because they are desirous of furnishing safe and wholesome appointments for their employees. Only those who desire to evade the law and disregard the common demands of sanitation, domestic decency, and wholesome industrial methods will object, and it is these the law desires to reach.

I submit this to the serious consideration of the legislature, and suggest that an amendment to the law embodying this idea be adopted, to the end that the uneconomic, unwholesome, and un-American sweat-shop system shall disappear from our industrial life.

Though the governor's ideas were not embodied in their entirety in the law that ensued, it contained the essential features recommended by him. Its provisions made it unlawful to manufacture, alter, repair, or finish articles of clothing, feathers, artificial flowers, cigarettes, cigars, or umbrellas in a room or apartment in any tenement or dwelling house, or in a building situated in the rear of a tenement or dwelling house, without a license from the factory-inspection department.

Before any such license is granted—

The act provided—

an inspection of the room, apartment, or building sought to be licensed must be made by the factory inspector. If the factory inspector ascertain that such room, apartment, or building is in a clean and proper sanitary condition * * * he shall grant a license permitting the use of such room, apartment, or building for the purpose of manufacturing, altering, repairing, or finishing such articles.

Each license shall state the maximum number of persons who may be employed in the room or rooms to which such license relates. The number of persons to be so employed shall be determined by the number of cubic feet of air space contained in each room or apartment mentioned in such license, allowing not less than 250 cubic feet for each person employed between the hours of 6 o'clock in the morning and 6 o'clock in the evening, and * * * not less than 400 cubic feet for each person employed therein between the hours of 6 o'clock in the evening and 6 o'clock in the morning. Such license must be framed and posted in a conspicuous place in each room or apartment to which it relates. It may be revoked by the factory inspector if the health of the community or of the employees requires it or if it appears that the rooms or apartments * * * are not in a healthy and proper sanitary condition.

Every room or apartment in which any of the articles named * * * are manufactured, altered, repaired, or finished shall be kept in a clean and sanitary condition and shall be subject to inspection and examination by the factory inspector for the purpose of ascertaining whether said garments or articles, or any part or parts thereof, are clean and free from vermin and every matter of an infectious or contagious nature. No person shall hire, employ, or contract with * * * any person not holding a license therefor to manufacture, alter, repair, or finish any of the articles named. * *

Persons contracting for the manufacturing, altering, repairing, or finishing of any of the articles mentioned, * * * or giving out material for which they or any part of are to be manufactured, altered, repaired, or finished, shall keep a register of the names and addresses plainly written in English of the persons to whom such articles or materials are given. * * * Such register shall be subject to inspection by the factory inspector and a copy thereof furnished on his demand.

Articles prepared contrary to the provisions of this act "shall not be sold or exposed for sale by any person. The factory inspector shall conspicuously affix to any such article found to be unlawfully manufactured, altered, repaired, or finished a label containing the words 'tenement made.' * * * The factory inspector shall notify the person owning or alleging to own such article that he has so labeled it. No person except the factory inspector shall remove or deface any tag or label so affixed. If the factory inspector finds evidence of disease present in a workshop or in a room or apartment in a tenement or dwelling house, or in any room or apartment of a building in the rear of a tenement or dwelling house in which any of the articles named * * * are manufactured, altered, repaired, or finished, or in process thereof, he shall affix to such articles the label prescribed * * * and immediately report to the local board of health, who shall disinfect such article if necessary, and thereupon remove such label. If the factory inspector finds that infectious or contagious diseases exist in" tenement workshops, "or that goods used therein are unfit for use he shall report to the local board of health, and such board shall issue such orders as the public health may require. Such board may condemn and destroy all such infected article or articles manufactured or in the process of manufacture under unclean or unhealthful conditions." Owners, lessees, or agents of tenements "shall not permit the use thereof for the manufacture, repair, alteration, or finishing of any of the articles mentioned in this article contrary to its provisions. If a room or apartment * * * be so unlawfully used, the factory inspector shall serve a notice thereof upon such owner, lessee, or agent. Unless such owner, lessee, or agent shall cause such unlawful manufacture to be discontinued within thirty days after the service of such notice, or within fifteen days thereafter institutes and faithfully prosecutes proceedings for the dispossession of the occupant * * * who unlawfully manufactures, repairs, alters, or finishes such articles * * * he shall be deemed guilty of a violation of this article."

The law has worked admirably. From the time that it went into effect—September 1, 1899—according to the records of the New York bureau of factory inspection, up to September 30, 1903, the date of the issuance of the last annual report of that bureau, the efficiency of the act in interfering with sweat shops was fully illustrated by the

fact that altogether 10,439 licenses were refused to applicants because of the insanitary condition of their living rooms or of other parts of the buildings, while 3,814 licenses were revoked for similar reasons. These latter house shops doubtless would now be in operation were it not for this law and the strict manner of its execution. In the time above mentioned there were 1,901 instances where goods were tagged in tenement workrooms wherein the law had been violated, and a large number of prosecutions and convictions have resulted from its enforcement. At the close of last September there were in New York State 30,890 licensed work places, which have undergone at least one critical inspection each year.

AMENDMENTS TO THE FACTORY ACT.

The following amendments to the factory act were approved by Governor Roosevelt in 1899:

Prohibiting the operation of dangerous machinery by children.—Children under 16 a building in course of construction, contractors or owners shall cause the shafts or openings in each floor to be inclosed by a barrier at least 8 feet in height; and if a building be five stories or more in height, no lumber nor timber shall be hoisted on the outside of such building.

Regulating working time of females.—No female shall be employed in a factory before 6 a. m. and after 9 p. m., nor be required to work more than sixty hours per week.

Stairways to be properly lighted.—Stairways leading to workrooms shall be properly lighted, such lights to be independent of the motive power of a factory.

Promoting the operation of dangerous machinery by children.—Children under 16 years of age shall not be permitted to operate or assist in operating dangerous machines of any kind.

Women and male minors not permitted to work on polishing or buffing wheels.—No male child under 18 years of age nor any female shall be employed in operating polishing or buffing wheels.

Boiler Inspection.—Directing the factory inspector to inspect boilers in factories in localities where no local laws prevail on the subject.

MECHANICS' LIENS.

During the legislative session of 1899 Governor Roosevelt affixed his signature to two measures amending the lien law. One of these amendatory acts provided that a lien for labor done shall continue for three months, unless an order be made by a court of record to continue it for a period not exceeding six months, upon the application of a lienor, and said court may grant a new order continuing the lien in each succeeding six months if in its discretion it shall be deemed just and equitable. This amendment was "declared to be a remedial statute, and is to be construed liberally to secure the beneficial interests and purposes thereof."

The other amendments included the mining of cement stone and the quarrying or cutting of limestone in the provision relating to liens for labor performed in quarrying, dressing, and cutting stone.

QUARTERLY LABOR BULLETINS.

To enable the bureau of labor statistics to properly disseminate the results of its investigations, Governor Roosevelt in 1899 approved a measure which provided the means for the compiling and publishing of quarterly bulletins by that bureau.

OTHER LABOR LEGISLATION APPROVED IN 1899.

Other labor legislation approved by Governor Roosevelt in 1899 was as follows:

REGISTRATION OF LABORERS FOR MUNICIPAL EMPLOYMENT.

This was an amendment to the civil-service law, and stipulated that vacancies in the labor class in cities, which embrace unskilled laborers and such skilled laborers as are not included in the competitive or non-competitive class, shall be filled by appointment from lists of applicants registered by municipal commissions, preference in employment from such lists to be given according to date of application.

LICENSING OF STATIONARY ENGINEERS IN BUFFALO.

Prohibiting any person not duly licensed under such regulations as the Buffalo common council may prescribe from running any steam stationary engine. A marine engineer holding a United States license, on presenting the same to an examiner appointed for the purpose, shall be given a written examination, and if found qualified shall be granted a stationary engineer's license, but such marine engineer must be a resident of that city for three years before making such application, and is required to be a citizen of the United States.

EXAMINATION AND REGISTRATION OF HORSESHOERS.

Amending the law so as to apply its provisions to all cities of the State instead of to those of the first and second classes, as formerly. This article provides for a board of examiners, consisting of a veterinarian, two master horseshoers, and two journeymen horseshoers, who shall hold sessions in the several cities for the purpose of examining applicants desiring to practice as master or journeymen horseshoers. A person is not qualified to take such examination unless he has served an apprenticeship at horseshoeing for at least three years. If he is shown to be qualified, the board shall issue to him a certificate stating his name and residence, the date of examination, when and where his apprenticeship was served, and that he is qualified to practice his trade.

TENEMENT HOUSE REFORM.

Tenement-house conditions in the congested districts of New York City had become so dreadful that Governor Roosevelt felt impelled in 1900 to appeal to the legislature to take action toward remedying the evil effects of the system and in the interest of the dwellers in the dark and poorly ventilated rooms of these houses, in which the health of the occupants was also menaced by foul cellars, airshafts, and courts, arising from the accumulation of filth. He dwelt as follows upon the subject in his annual message:

I urge that the legislature give particular attention to the need of reform in the laws governing the tenement houses. The tenement-house commission of 1894 declared that, in its opinion, the tenement-house laws needed to be revised as often as once in five years, and I am confident that the improvements in building materials and construction of tenements and the advance in sanitary legislation all demand further modification of existing laws. Probably the best course to follow would be to appoint a commission to present a revised code of tenement-house laws.

As a consequence of the foregoing recommendation a bill to create a tenement-house commission was introduced, and so necessary was immediate legislative interference deemed by the governor that he sent to the legislature the following emergency message recommending the passage of the measure:

There is before you a measure for the establishment of a tenement-house commission to look into the whole subject of the proper construction of tenement houses in the congested districts of our great cities of the first class. I earnestly hope that this bill may be enacted into law. It is probable that there is not and has not been before your body a measure of more real importance to the welfare of those who are least able to protect themselves and whom we should especially guard from the effects of their own helplessness and from the rapacity of those who would prey upon them.

There was held this year in New York a tenement-house exhibition, showing by maps and models dreadful conditions which we are now striving to remedy, and the shape that the remedy shall take. One of the most striking features at this exhibit was the series of charts which showed the way in which disease, crime, and pauperism increased almost in geometrical proportion as the conditions of tenement-house life became worse—that is, as to overcrowding are added the evils of want of air, of light, of cleanliness, of comfort; in short, of all the decencies of life. These decencies are of course, indispensable if good citizenship is to be made possible. The tenement house, in its worst shape, is a festering sore in the civilization of our great cities. We can not be excused if we fail to cut out this ulcer, and our failure will be terribly avenged, for by its presence it inevitably poisons the whole body, politic and social. At present in New York the conditions are in some respects worse, not better, than they were a few years ago, because now the authorities permit the erection of huge buildings, which, though less disreputable in appearance than the old tenement houses, are, because of their immense mass and inferior light and air shafts, worse from a hygienic standpoint.

Two classes of people are interested in perpetrating the present infamous conditions, viz., the class that owns the tenement houses and the class that builds them. The best owners and the best builders do not desire to perpetuate these conditions, but it is imperative to protect them from the competition of their less conscientious rivals.

Against this concrete and mercenary hostility to the needed reform we can marshal only the general sentiment for decent and cleanly living and for fair play to all our citizens. Too often the sufferer himself is dumb either because he can not express himself or because he does not know what remedy to advocate. In his interest, and in the interest of all our people, above all, in the interest of the State, whose standard of citizenship in the future is partly dependent upon the housing of children in the tenement-house districts of the present, we should see to the improvement of the conditions which now make the congested districts of our great cities a blot on our civilization. Great good was accomplished by the tenement-house commission appointed under a similar bill a few years ago. This good is now in part being nullified, and a new commission is urgently needed.

The bill passed, and Governor Roosevelt appointed representative citizens on the commission, which included sociologists, philanthropists, architects, builders, real estate owners and agents, a prominent labor leader in the building trades, and men who had been connected with the New York City health, building, and fire departments. The commission's report, which was submitted in 1901, accompanied by a bill proposing important changes in the methods of tenement-house construction, was a valuable document covering all sides of the housing problem. It reported that the worst feature of the New York tenement house was lack of air and light, which was directly responsible for the undue prevalence of tuberculosis, medical experts having testified that the number of deaths from that disease reached 8,000 annually and that one-third of these lives might be saved by providing a type of tenement house with sufficient light and ventilation. Another constant source of danger was the narrow air-shaft, which acted as a flue in the spread of tenement-house fires and contagious diseases; and as most of the bedroom windows opened upon these air shafts, it was impossible to preserve privacy in a family which occupied rooms opposite those of another family.

Professional vice was found to exist in many tenements, being largely due to the irresponsibility of landlords. The findings of the commission impressed practical legislators who succeeded in having the major part of their recommendations enacted into law. This act provides for the establishment of a tenement-house department in New York City, to which shall be submitted all plans for tenement houses, and whose approval must be obtained before such buildings can be occupied after completion, and also requires the appointment of a large corps of inspectors so that existing dwellings may be kept under surveillance.

The law diminishes the proportion of ground to be built over, and by thus increasing the unoccupied space on lots enlarges the amount of light and air that reaches dwellers, abolishes narrow air shafts, requires open courts, provides that rooms must open either upon an inner or outer court or upon the street or a yard (this also applying to public hallways); that in existing dwellings wooden panels in doors must be replaced with glass, or a suitable window shall be placed at the end of the hall leading to the outer air; that lights shall be kept burning all night upon the first and second floors of public hallways, and from sunset to 10 p. m. upon other floors; that there shall be a separate water-closet for each family; that courts, cellars, halls, and stairways shall be maintained free of rubbish and filth; prescribes how fire escapes shall be constructed and where they shall be located; stipulates that every disorderly woman residing in a tenement is to be treated as a vagrant and upon conviction committed to jail for a period of not more than six months, and any tenement house that shelters such disorderly person is liable to a penalty of \$1,000, which becomes a lien upon the house and lot.

Beside structural changes in numerous old buildings, making them more suitable for human habitation, hundreds of new style tenements have been constructed under the act, and from their occupants' view point these new houses have proved entirely satisfactory, insuring for the first time to many tenants a sufficiency of air and light as well as sanitary conveniences. When it is considered that in a single year the tenement-house department made 269,691 inspections and recorded 138,270 violations of the statute, it is quite evident that the act has accomplished all that its promoters claimed for it, for these systematic inspections have produced decided improvements in housing conditions, resulting in the betterment of sanitary arrangements, thereby lessening the amount of sickness, and causing a decrease in the city's death rate. Another important outcome of the rigid enforcement of the tenement-house law has been the suppression of professional vice in these dwelling places.

SHORTENING THE WORKING HOURS OF DRUG CLERKS.

Steadfast in his purpose to give some relief to overworked drug clerks Governor Roosevelt in 1900 called the attention of the legislature to the matter in the words following:

Owing to the defects in the drug clerks' bill presented last year I was unable to sign it. I am, however, in hearty sympathy with the objects sought in the bill. I trust that a satisfactory bill may be presented this year and shall be glad to give such a bill my approval.

Upon this recommendation the senate and assembly passed "an act for the regulation of the working hours of pharmacists and drug clerks in cities of 1,000,000 or more inhabitants," and it received the governor's approval.

Under its provisions pharmacists or drug clerks shall not be required nor permitted to work more than seventy hours per week; that—

Nothing in this section shall prohibit them working six hours overtime during any week, for the purpose of making a shorter succeeding week: *Provided, however,* That the aggregate number of hours in any such two weeks shall not exceed one hundred and thirty-six hours. The working hours per day shall be consecutive, allowing one hour for each meal. The hours shall be so arranged that an employee shall be entitled to and shall receive at least one full day off in two consecutive weeks. No proprietor of any drug store shall require or permit any clerk to sleep in any room or apartment in or connected with such store which does not comply with the sanitary regulations of the local board of health.

Failure to comply with the provisions of the act is deemed a misdemeanor.

SEATS FOR WAITRESSES IN HOTELS AND RESTAURANTS.

Approval was given by Governor Roosevelt in 1900 to a measure which required every person employing waitresses in a hotel or restaurant to "provide and maintain suitable seats for the use of such female employees, and permit the use thereof by such employees to such an extent as may be reasonable for the preservation of their health." To the factory inspector was delegated the power to enforce the provisions of this act.

AIR BRAKES ON FREIGHT TRAINS.

An amendatory act, signed by Governor Roosevelt in 1900 made it unlawful on and after January 1, 1901—

For any railroad or other company to haul or permit to be hauled or used on its line or lines within this State any freight train that has not a sufficient number of cars in it so equipped with continuous power or air brakes that the engineer or the locomotive drawing such train can control its speed without requiring brakemen to use the common hand brake for that purpose. * * * Any railroad or other company hauling or permitting to be hauled on its line or lines any freight train in violation of the provisions of this act shall be liable to a penalty of \$100 for each and every violation, to be recovered in an action to be brought by the attorney-general in the name of the people, * * * and it shall be the duty of the board of railroad commissioners of this State to notify the attorney-general of all such violations coming to its notice.

EXTENDING TO OTHER ENGINEERS THE PROVISIONS OF THE LAW LICENSING NEW YORK CITY STATIONARY ENGINEERS—A MISDEMEANOR FOR VIOLATING THE ACT.

In 1890 Governor Roosevelt gave his consent to two amendments to the act relative to the inspection of steam boilers and licenses of stationary engineers of New York City. The first of these, which was chapter 461, provided that "any person who has served as a marine or locomotive engineer or fireman to a locomotive engineer for a period of five years, and shall have been a resident of the State of New York for a period of two years," shall be eligible for examination for a license to act as a stationary engineer.

Chapter 709 was the other amendment, which made it a misdemeanor for "any person or persons violating any provision of this section or of any of its subdivisions."

INCREASING THE SALARIES OF NEW YORK CITY PUBLIC SCHOOL TEACHERS.

So deep was the interest manifested by the New York City public school teachers in the bill to regulate and increase their salaries that on March 14, 1900, Governor Roosevelt sent to the legislature a message certifying to the necessity of the immediate passage of the measure. It met with the approval of both houses and was signed by the governor, who filed with the act a memorandum pointing out that—

Its general purpose is admirable, and the best educators—the men most interested in seeing the public schools of the greater New York put upon a thoroughly efficient basis—* * * most earnestly favor the measure.

The law gave the department of education power to adopt by-laws to establish a uniform schedule of salaries for the teaching staff throughout all the boroughs and prescribed an equal annual increment of salary. It provided that a kindergartner or female teacher of a girls' class other than those teaching grades of the last two years in elementary schools shall, after sixteen years of service, receive not less than \$1,240 per annum, and that a female teacher of a girls' class of the grades of the last two years shall, after fifteen years of service, receive not less than \$1,320 per annum; that a female teacher of a girls' graduating class, female first assistant, or

female vice-principal shall, after ten years of service, receive not less than \$1,440 per annum; that a female teacher of boys' or mixed class shall receive not less than \$60 per annum more than a female teacher of a girls' class of corresponding grade and of years of service, and that a female teacher in elementary schools shall receive not less than \$600 per annum, nor shall her annual increment be less than \$10; that a male teacher of a class of the grades of the last two years shall, after twelve years service, receive not less than \$2,160 per annum; that a male teacher of a graduating class, male first assistant, or male vice-principal shall, after ten years service, receive not less than \$2,400 per year; that a male teacher shall receive not less than \$900 a year, nor shall his annual increment be less than \$105.

AMENDMENTS TO THE LIEN LAW.

Two amendments to the lien law were approved by Governor Roosevelt in 1900. The first related to building loan contracts, and provided that the same—

either with or without the sale of land, and any modification thereof must be in writing and duly acknowledged, and within ten days after its execution be filed in the office of the clerk of the county in which any part of the land is situated, and the same shall not be filed in the register's office of any county.

The second amendment was in regard "to the sale of property retaken by the vender under a contract of conditional sale." This sentence was added to section 116:

Unless such articles are sold within thirty days after the expiration of such period, the vender or his successor in interest may recover of the vender the amount paid on such articles by such vendee or his successor in interest under the contract for the conditional sale thereof.

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP OF RAPID-TRANSIT RAILWAYS.

There is now before your body a measure looking toward the securing of rapid transit for the city of New York. I deem it of very great importance that a scheme providing for rapid transit in the city should be passed at the earliest practicable moment. But it is even more important that this scheme should be one which will work for the ultimate benefit of the city. It does not seem to me wise that a franchise of this nature should be given in perpetuity. It would, of course, be best to have it owned by the municipality, although I would point out to the advocates of municipal ownership that it is doubly incumbent upon them to take the most efficient means of rebuking municipal corruption, and of insisting upon a high standard of continuous fidelity to duty among municipal employees. Only if the government of the municipality is honest will it be possible ever to justify fully the workings of municipal ownership.

These sentiments were expressed by Governor Roosevelt in a special message to the legislature, and in 1900 that body passed an amendatory measure, which received the governor's signature, extending the system of municipal construction of rapid-transit railways to any city of over 1,000,000 inhabitants formed by the consolidation of one or more cities and other territory. This amended act also made it lawful for the board of rapid transit railroad commissioners to locate the route of a railroad by tunnel under any river or waters, thus making possible the present extension of the rapid-transit system from the borough of Manhattan, New York City, under the East River to and through a large part of the borough of Brooklyn. The project will, when completed, afford considerable relief to people in the latter borough who live long distances from the centers of commerce and industry, carrying them to and from their homes, far removed from the densely crowded portions of the city, in comfort and in much less time than under the existing inadequate method of conveyance, besides encouraging many who now reside in the congested districts to seek dwelling places in less densely settled sections near the Brooklyn terminal of the new railway.

THE PRESIDENT AND THE WORKING MAN—PERSONAL EFFORT THE FIRST REQUISITE OF SUCCESS.

The most extended discussion of the condition and interests of workingmen that Mr. Roosevelt has offered since he became President is contained in his address at the New York State Fair on Labor Day, 1903, which is printed elsewhere in this pamphlet. To appreciate his attitude one must read the entire address as well as the following quotations from other addresses and public papers.

Personal effort and the homely old-fashioned virtues are the first requisites of order and progress in every community. Thus in an address at Kansas City, Mo., May 1, 1903, the President said:

No device that the wit of man can produce, no form of law, no form of association or organization among ourselves, can supply the lack of fundamental virtues, the presence of which has meant a great nation, the absence of which has meant the downfall of any nation since the world began. No smartness, no mere cleverness unaccompanied by the sense of moral responsibility, no governmental scheme will ever supply the place of adherence to certain fundamental precepts put forth in the Bible and embodied consciously or unconsciously in the code of morals of every great and successful nation from antiquity to modern times. Always in any government, among any people, there are certain forces for evil which take many shapes, but which are rooted in the same base and evil characteristics of the human soul, in the evil of arrogance, in the evil of jealousy, of envy, of hatred, and to some people the appeal is made to yield to one set of evil forces, to some it is made to yield to another set, and the result is equally bad in such case.

The vice of arrogance, the vice of hate, and brutal indifference on the part of those with wealth to those who have none is a shameful and dreadful vice. It is not one whit worse than the vice of rancorous envy, of hatred, and jealousy on the part of those who are not well off for those who are better off. The man who by either practice or precept seeks to give to any man or to withhold from any man any advantage in war, or socially, or in the working of society, or in business because of his wealth or because of his poverty is false to the traditions of this Republic. We do not have to face the tremendous problems with which you of the years from '61 to '65 were brought face to face, but we have problems of our own.

THE PRESIDENT AND TRADES-UNIONISM.

While intelligence and character still count as essential elements of success in individuals, there remains room for associated action in large enterprises where the individual is swallowed up in the multitude and personal contact of employer and employee is no longer possible. One of 5,000 wage-workers employed in a factory could never hope to induce the employers to reduce his hours of work from fourteen or sixteen to ten a day, but if all of the 5,000 workmen unite in such a request they may accomplish their object and effect a change so momentous in the lives of workingmen. The fact is that in a large-scale production the workman is at a hopeless disadvantage in making an individual bargain with the employer. His only salvation lies in joining his fellow-workmen and making a collective bargain with the employer regarding wages and the conditions under which they shall work. In forming a union and choosing their officers and representatives the workmen are simply following the example of capitalists, who form a corporation and delegate their powers to directors or trustees.

THE NECESSITY OF TRADES UNIONS.

This fact is fully recognized by President Roosevelt in common with the political economists and other leaders of thought at the present time. Thus in his address at Sioux Falls, S. Dak., April 6, 1903, he declared that "much can be done by organization, combination—union among the wage-workers," and went on to explain the change that has come about in modern industry, as follows:

The wage-workers in our cities, like the capitalists in our cities, face totally changed conditions. The development of machinery and the extraordinary change in business conditions have rendered the employment of capital and of persons in large aggregations not merely profitable but often necessary for success, and have specialized the labor of the wage-worker at the same time that they have brought great aggregations of wage-workers together. More and more in our great industrial centers men have come to realize that they can not live as independently of one another as in the old days was the case everywhere and as is now the case in the country districts. Of course, fundamentally, each man will yet find that the chief factor in determining his success or failure in life is the sum of his own individual qualities. He can not afford to lose his individual limitation—his individual will and power, but he can best use that power if for certain objects he unites with his fellows.

MESSAGES.

Similarly, in his first message to Congress, in 1901, the President declared that "very great good has been and will be accomplished by associations of wage-workers when managed with forethought, and when they combine insistence upon their own rights with law-abiding respect for the rights of others. The display of these qualities in such bodies is a duty to the nation no less than to the associations themselves."

In his second message to Congress, in the year 1902, President Roosevelt elaborated this thought as follows:

This is an era of federation and combination. Exactly as business men find they must often work through corporations, and as it is a constant tendency of these corporations to grow larger, so it is often necessary for laboring men to work in federations, and these have become important factors of modern industrial life. Both kinds of federation, capitalistic and labor, can do much good, and as a necessary corollary they can both do evil.

Opposition to each kind of organization should take the form of opposition to whatever is bad in the conduct of any given corporation or union, not of attacks upon corporations as such nor upon unions as such, for some of the most far-reaching beneficent work for our people has been accomplished through both corporations and unions. Each must refrain from arbitrary or tyrannous interference with the rights of others. Organized capital and organized labor alike should remember that in the long run the interest of each must be brought into harmony with the interest of the general public, and the conduct of each must conform to the fundamental rules of obedience to the law of individual freedom and of justice and fair dealing toward all. Each should remember that in addition to power it must strive after the realization of healthy, lofty, and generous ideals. Every employer, every wage-worker must be guaranteed his liberty and his right to do as he likes with his property or his labor so long as he does not infringe upon the rights of others.

It is of the highest importance that employer and employee alike should endeavor to appreciate each the view point of the other and the sure disaster that will come upon both in the long run if either grows to take as habitual an attitude of sour hostility and distrust toward the other. Few people deserve better of the country than those representatives both of capital and labor, and there are many such who work continually to bring about a good understanding of this kind, based upon wisdom and upon broad and kindly sympathy between employers and employed. Above all, we need to remember that any kind of class animosity in the political world is, if possible, even more wicked, even more destructive to national welfare, than sectional, race, or religious animosity. We can get good government only on condition that we keep true to the principles upon which this nation was founded, and judge each man, not as a part of a class, but upon his individual merits. All that we have a right to ask of any man, rich or poor, whatever his creed, his occupation, his birthplace, or his residence, is that he shall act well and honorably by his neighbor and by his country. We are neither for the rich man as such nor for the poor man as such; we are for the upright man, rich or poor. So far as the constitutional powers of the National Government touch these matters of general and vital moment to the nation, they should be exercised in conformity with the principles above set forth.

Developing the same thought, President Roosevelt, in his address at Kansas City, Mo., May 1, 1903, said:

In our complex relations of employer and employee, of one class with another class, of one section with another section, we can work out a really successful result only if those brought together make an honest effort each to understand his neighbor's viewpoint, and then an honest effort while working for his own interest to avoid working to the detriment of his neighbor. That is so obvious a truth that it is trite, but we need to act on it just the same. We need to act upon it, above all, in our industrial relations one with another. You are not going to make any new commandments at this stage which will supply the place of the old ones; the truths that were true at the foot of Mount Sinai are true now; the truths that were true when the Golden Rule was promulgated are true now.

Each man must work for himself. If he does not, there is no use of anyone working for him. Each man must work for himself, and each man must endeavor to do his best to get ahead for his own sake, for his wife and children, for those dependent upon him; but each man must work for himself with the full recognition of his duty to his neighbor or in the end he will bring disaster not merely to his neighbor, but to himself also. A wrong done is just as much a wrong if it is done by the little man against the big man as by the big man against the little man. It is just as much wrong if done by the capitalist to the laborer as by the laborer to the capitalist, and the man is no real friend of his country, no real friend of any set of people in the country, if he appeals to those people only from the standpoint of asking them to see that they get their full share and omits to ask them to remember to do full justice to others also. In the long run the wage-worker and capitalist will go down in common ruin if each does not honestly try to get on with and do justice to the other.

ELECTED TO HONORARY MEMBERSHIP BY THE BROTHERHOOD OF LOCOMOTIVE FIREMEN.

In September, 1902, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, assembled in annual convention at Chattanooga, Tenn., conferred upon President Roosevelt the degree of grand honorary membership, as indicated in the following report of the proceedings:

John F. McNorrell, of Columbus, Ohio, one of the grand officers, and a Democratic member of the legislature, moved that the degree of grand honorary membership be conferred upon President Roosevelt. The motion was referred to the committee on constitution and by-laws, whose recommendation was unanimous that the motion be adopted. The report of the committee was adopted by a unanimous rising vote amid great cheers.

The President thanked the convention for the compliment paid him, and Grand Master Sargent then gave him a pass which admits him to all meetings of the Brotherhood.

The President, in addressing the convention, declared that "organization is one of the laws of our social and economic development at this time. I believe emphatically in organized labor."

UNION LABOR IN GOVERNMENT WORK.

In his first message to Congress, in 1901, President Roosevelt recommended that "provision be made to render the enforcement of the eight-hour law easy and certain," and also that the Government should provide in its contracts that all work for it should be done under "fair" conditions.

By this expression it is understood that the President meant that no contract should be given or no contractor employed by the Government who would not agree to pay the union scale of wages; in other words, no contractor should, in any way, be allowed to obtain a contract from the Government by lessening the price paid the employees for their labor to a point less than the "fair" or union scale of wages or by working more than the usual number of hours per day which had been fixed for the trade.

THE CASE OF WILLIAM A. MILLER.

While thus favoring the union standard of wages and hours in Government work the President recognizes the illegality of any discrimination for or against members of a union. Thus in the case of William A. Miller, who complained that he was removed from his position of assistant foreman in the Government Printing Office, in violation of the civil-service law, because he had been expelled from Local Union No. 4, of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, the President ordered Miller's reinstatement and explained the rule governing public employment in the following communication to Secretary Cortelyou, in whose charge the President placed the investigation:

OYSTER BAY, N. Y., July 13, 1903.

MY DEAR SECRETARY CORTELYOU: In accordance with the letter of the Civil-Service Commission of July 6, the Public Printer will reinstate Mr. W. A. Miller in his position. Meanwhile I will withhold my final decision of the whole case until I have received the report of the investigation on Miller's second communication, which you notify me has been begun to-day, July 13.

On the face of the papers presented, Miller would appear to have been removed in violation of law. There is no objection to the employees of the Government Printing Office constituting themselves into a union if they so desire, but no rules or resolutions of that union can be permitted to override the laws of the United States, which it is my sworn duty to enforce.

Please communicate a copy of this letter to the Public Printer for his information and that of his subordinates.

Very truly yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

HON. GEORGE B. CORTELYOU,

Secretary of Commerce and Labor.

OYSTER BAY, N. Y., July 14, 1903.

MY DEAR MR. CORTELYOU: In connection with my letter of yesterday, I call attention to this judgment and award by the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission to its report to me of March 18 last:

"It is adjudged and awarded that no person shall be refused employment or in any way discriminated against on account of membership or non-membership to any labor organization, and that there shall be no discrimination against or interference with any employee who is not a member of any labor organization by members of such organization."

I heartily approve of this award and judgment by the Commission appointed by me, which itself included a member of a labor union. This Commission was dealing with labor organizations working for private employers. It is, of course, mere elementary decency to require that all the Government Departments shall be handled in accordance with the principle thus clearly and fearlessly enunciated.

Please furnish a copy of this letter both to Mr. Palmer and to the Civil Service Commission for their guidance.

Sincerely, yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

HON. GEORGE B. CORTELYOU,

Secretary of Commerce and Labor.

MR. MILLER REINSTATED.

Mr. Palmer, the Public Printer, on Wednesday, July 16, notified Mr. Miller that he had been reinstated and might report for duty any day.

On September 29, 1903, the President gave a hearing to members of the executive council of the American Federation of Labor on the subject of pending labor legislation, at which he announced his final decision in the Miller case and at the same time explained his preference for the "union shop" in private employment. The president of the American Federation of Labor in an address, issued on the succeeding day, to organized labor of America thus described President Roosevelt's attitude:

Replying to statements on the subject, President Roosevelt set forth that in his decision he had nothing in mind but a strict compliance with Federal, including civil service, law and that he recognized a difference between employment by the Government, circumscribed by those laws, and any other form of employment, and that his decision in the Miller case should not be understood to have any other effect or influence than affecting direct employment by the Government in accordance therewith. He furthermore made plain that in any form of employment excepting that so circumscribed he believed the full employment of union men was preferable either to non-union or open shops.

OFFICIAL ACCOUNT OF THE HEARING.

SEPTEMBER 29, 1903.

Pursuant to the request of Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, the President granted an interview this evening to the following members of the executive council of that body: Mr. Samuel Gompers, Mr. James Duncan, Mr. John Mitchell, Mr. James O'Connell, and Mr. Frank Morrison, at which various subjects of legislation in the interests of labor, as well as Executive action, were discussed. Concerning the case of William A. Miller, the President made the following statement:

"I thank you and your committee for your courtesy, and I appreciate the opportunity to meet with you. It will always be a pleasure to see you or any representative of your organizations or of your federation as a whole.

"As regards the Miller case, I have little to add to what I have already said. In dealing with it I ask you to remember that I am dealing purely with the relation of the Government to its employees. I must govern my action by the laws of the land, which I am sworn to administer, and which differentiate any case in which the Government of the United States is a party from all other cases whatsoever. These laws are enacted for the benefit of the whole people, and can not and must not be construed as permitting discrimination against some of the people. I am President of all the people of the United States, without regard to creed, color, birthplace, occupation, or social condition. My aim is to do equal and exact justice as among them all. In the employment and dismissal of men in the Government service I can no more recognize the fact that a man does or does not belong to a union, as being for or against him, than I can recognize the fact that he is a Protestant or a Catholic, a Jew or a Gentile, as being for or against him.

"In the communications sent me by various labor organizations protesting against the retention of Miller in the Government Printing Office the grounds alleged are twofold: First, that he is a non-union man; second, that he is not personally fit. The question of his personal fitness is one to be settled in the routine of administrative detail, and can not be allowed to conflict with or to complicate the larger question of governmental discrimination for or against him or any other man because he is or is not a member of a union. This is the only question now before me for decision, and as to this my decision is final."

In the foregoing statement of policy President Roosevelt merely reiterated his well-known conviction that the law must be administered with absolutely no discrimination. Thus, in his address at Butte, Mont., May 27, 1903, he declared that—

The law is no respecter of persons. The law is to be administered neither for the rich man nor for the poor man as such. It is to be administered for every man, rich or poor, if he is an honest and law-abiding citizen, and it is to be invoked against any man, rich or poor, who violates it, without regard to which end of the social scale he may stand, without regard to whether his offense takes the form of greed and cunning or the form of physical violence. In either case, if he violates the law, the law is to be invoked against him, and in so invoking it I have the right to challenge the support of all good citizens and to demand the acquiescence of every good man. I hope I shall have it; but once for all, I wish it understood that even if I did not have it, I would enforce the law anyhow.

CUNNING AS WELL AS FORCE MUST BE SHACKLED.

In his recognition of unsocial and illegal action through cunning, President Roosevelt differs from those critics of workingmen who see crime in every act of intimidation.

tion or physical violence that occurs in the course of a strike or lockout, but fail to recognize the lawlessness of the men who obtain special privileges from legislatures and municipal councils or evade the payment of their just taxes. Thus, in an address at the Buffalo Independent Club, May 5, 1899, Governor Roosevelt declared that—

"The rich man who gets a privilege through the legislature by bribery and corruption for any corporation is committing an offense against the community which it is possible may some day have to be condoned in blood and destruction, not by him, not by his sons, but by you and your sons.

And while the lawlessness of greed and cunning may lead to anarchy as surely as lawless physical violence, "it is far more difficult to deal with, but the effort to deal with it must be steadily made," as the President said in his Sioux Falls address, April 6, 1903.

But while fearlessly pointing out the lawless acts committed by a few rich men and by a few poor men, President Roosevelt does not join in the lamentations of those who despair of government by the people. On the contrary, he deprecates the fostering of hostility between classes. Speaking at Kansas City, Mo., May 1, 1903, of the wonderful industrial growth of the country under the leadership of able business men, he said:

Let us think carefully before by any act of folly on our part we destroy what has thus so marvelously been built up. It is easy enough to pull down. It is not so easy to rebuild or replace, and let us take serious thought from the history of the republics of old and avoid the rocks on which they foundered, and the chief rock, the chief danger in the path of the older republics, of the republics of antiquity and the republics of the middle ages, the chief danger came from the growth and encouragement of anything in the nature of fostered hostility. It will be an evil day for us when we let ourselves be persuaded to try to make this a government especially designed to help any one class save as that class includes its proportion of honest, thrifty, hard-working, decent-behaving citizens.

And it will be only a less evil day when any considerable portion of our people fail to remember that the object of this government is to do justice, not to favor the rich man as such nor to discriminate against him as such; not to favor the poor man as such nor to discriminate against him as such, but to favor every man, rich or poor, if he is honest and behaves himself toward the State and his neighbors.

And further, at Butte, Mont., May 27, 1903, he said:

This is not and never shall be a Government of a plutocracy; it is not and never shall be a Government by a mob. It is, as it has been and as it will be, a Government in which every honest man, every decent man, be he employer or employed, wage-worker, mechanic, banker, farmer, lawyer, be he who he may, if he acts squarely and fairly, if he does his duty by his neighbor and the State, receives the full protection of the law and is given the amplest chance to exercise the ability there is within him, alone or in combination with his fellows, as he desires.

THE POLICY OF STATE INTERVENTION.

While wage-workers have greatly improved their condition by uniting in fraternal organizations like trade unions, experience shows that such cooperation is not adequate to remove all the faults inherent in modern industrial relations. To stop child labor and regulate the work of women in the factories, for example, has always been regarded as the duty of the entire community and not the peculiar function of trade unions. The fact is that the very existence of trade unions depends upon the prevalence of a relatively high standard of life, which can only be secured by the action of the people through their constituted representatives.

Thus there is no cooperation among the garment makers of the sweat shops until government regulation and inspection have aided them in rising out of the degradation of their former homes in foreign countries and the slums of our cities. State inter-

vention is therefore called for on the principle of equalizing opportunities. It does not abolish competition, which still remains the fundamental condition of social progress, but it raises competition to a higher level. Employer may still freely compete with employer in providing attractive commodities and in reducing their cost by inventing or introducing improved machinery and methods of production, but no employer may undersell his rival by using cheap child labor or otherwise exploiting the weakness or ignorance of the poor. The law thus favors the humane employer by protecting him from the competition of the inhumane employer. In President Roosevelt's own words:

PRINCIPLES OF STATE INTERFERENCE.

It is not possible empirically to declare when the interference of the State should be deemed legitimate and illegitimate. The line of demarcation between unhealthy over-interference and unhealthy lack of regulation is not always well defined and shifts with the change in our industrial needs. Most certainly we should never invoke the interference of the State or nation unless it is absolutely necessary, but it is equally true that where confident of its necessity we should not on academic grounds refuse it. Wise factory laws, laws to forbid the employment of child labor and to safeguard the employees against the effects of culpable negligence by the employer, are necessary not merely in the interest of the wage-worker, but in the interest of the honest and humane employer, who should not be penalized for his honesty and humanity by being exposed to unchecked competition with an unscrupulous rival.

In considering any proposed legislation in favor of wage-workers or others, the criterion should be the welfare of the entire community rather than the benefit of any class, as the President said in his Labor Day address at Syracuse:

Legislation to be permanently good for any class must also be good for the nation as a whole, and legislation which does injustice to any class is certain to work harm to the nation.

And, further, at Butte, Mont., in May, 1903:

The most unsafe adviser to follow is the man who would advise us to do wrong in order that we may benefit by it. That man is never a safe man to follow, but is always the most dangerous of guides. The man who seeks to persuade any of us that our advantage comes in wronging or oppressing another can be depended upon, if opportunity comes, to do wrong to us in his own interest just as he has endeavored to make us in our supposed interest do wrong to others.

THE AMERICAN STANDARD OF LIVING.

Under the American form of government the bulk of the legislation for the protection of wage-workers must be the work of the individual Commonwealths, and when he was governor of New York State Mr. Roosevelt, as had been already indicated, took an active part in promoting such legislation. But the Federal Government can accomplish a great deal for the maintenance of the relatively high standard of comfort that prevails in the United States by excluding the products of cheap foreign labor and also shutting out workmen from lower civilizations who are incapable of rising to the American standard of living. Such competition may be prevented by wise tariff and immigration laws, and on these questions the President expressed himself strongly in his first message to the Fifty-seventh Congress, under the date of December 3, 1901, in the following language:

With the sole exception of the farming interest no one matter is of such vital moment to our whole people as the welfare of the wage-workers. If the farmer and the wage-worker are well off it is absolutely certain that all others will be well off too. It is therefore a matter for hearty congratulation that wages on the whole are higher to-day in the United States than ever before in our history, and far higher than in any other country. The standard of living is also higher than ever before. Every effort of legislator and administrator should be to secure the permanency of this condition of things and its improvement wherever possible. Not only must our labor be

protected by the tariff, but it should also be protected as far as possible from the presence in this country of any laborers brought over by contract or of those who, coming freely, yet represent a standard of living so depressed that they can undersell our men in the labor market and drag them to a lower level. I regard it as necessary with this end in view, to reenact immediately the law excluding Chinese laborers, and to strengthen it wherever necessary in order to make its enforcement entirely effective.

Our present immigration laws are unsatisfactory. We need every honest and efficient immigrant fitted to become an American citizen, every immigrant who comes here to stay, who brings here a strong body, a stout heart, a good head, and a resolute purpose to do his duty well in every way and to bring up his children as law-abiding and God-fearing members of the community. But there should be a comprehensive law enacted, with the object of working a threefold improvement over our present system. First, we should aim to exclude absolutely not only all persons who are known to be believers in anarchistic principles or members of anarchistic societies, but also all persons who are of a low moral tendency or of unsavory reputation. This means that we should require a more thorough system of inspection abroad and a more rigid system of examination at our immigration ports, the former being especially necessary.

The second object of a proper immigration law ought to be to secure by a careful and not merely perfunctory educational test some intelligent capacity to appreciate American institutions and act sanely as American citizens. This would not keep out all anarchists, for many of them belong to the intelligent criminal class. But it would do what is also in point—that is, tend to decrease the sum of ignorance, so potent in producing the envy, suspicion, malignant passion, and hatred of order, out of which anarchistic sentiment inevitably springs. Finally, all persons should be excluded who are below a certain standard of economic fitness to enter our industrial field as competitors with American labor. There should be proper proof of personal capacity to earn an American living, and enough money to insure a decent start under American conditions. This would stop the influx of cheap labor and the resulting competition which gives rise to so much of bitterness in American industrial life, and it would dry up the springs of the pestilential social conditions in our great cities, where anarchistic organizations have their greatest possibility of growth.

Both the educational and economic tests in a wise immigration law should be designed to protect and elevate the general body politic and social. A very close supervision should be exercised over the steamship companies which mainly bring over the immigrants, and they should be held to a strict accountability for any infraction of the law.

CHINESE EXCLUSION LAW RENEWED AND EXTENDED TO THE ISLAND TERRITORY.

Acting upon these recommendations, Congress renewed the Chinese-exclusion law and extended it to the island territory, where the system of contract labor had previously existed. This act prohibits the immigration of Chinese laborers from such island territory to the mainland of the United States, and from one portion of said island territory to another portion, but permits their transit from one island to another island of the same group.

A MORE STRINGENT IMMIGRATION LAW.

Congress also enacted, and President Roosevelt approved, a more stringent immigration law, the important amendments being as follows:

(1) Levying a duty of \$2 (an increase of \$1) for each and every passenger not a citizen of the United States or of the Dominion of Canada, the Republic of Cuba, or of the Republic of Mexico who shall come by vessel from any foreign country to any port within the United States, or by any railway or any other mode of transportation from foreign contiguous territory to the United States.

(2) Excluding from admission epileptics, and persons who have been insane within five years previous, and persons who have had two or more attacks of insanity at any time previously; anarchists or persons who believe in or advocate the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States or of all government or of all forms of law or the assassination of public officials.

(3) Providing that skilled labor may be imported if labor of like kind unemployed can not be found in this country.

(4) Any person who shall bring into or land in the United States, or who shall attempt, by himself or through another, to bring into or land here any alien not duly admitted by an immigrant inspector, or not lawfully entitled to enter, shall be liable to punishment by a fine not exceeding \$1,000 for each alien so landed or attempted to be landed or by imprisonment for a term not less than three months nor more than two years, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

(5) Each manifest shall be verified by the signature and the oath or affirmation of the master or commanding officer of a vessel or the first or second below him in command, taken before an immigration officer at the port of arrival, to the effect that he has caused the surgeon of said vessel sailing therewith to make a physical and oral examination of each alien.

(6) Any alien who shall come into the United States in violation of law, or who shall be found a public charge therein, from causes existing prior to landing, shall be deported to the country whence he came at any time within two years after arrival at the expense, including one-half of the cost of inland transportation to the port of deportation, of the person bringing such alien into the United States, or, if that can not be done, then at the expense of the immigrant fund. In case the Secretary of Commerce and Labor shall be satisfied that an alien shall be found in the United States in violation of law, he shall cause such alien, within the period of three years after landing, to be taken into custody and returned to the country whence he came, at the expense, including one-half of the cost of inland transportation to the port of deportation, of the person bringing such alien to this country, or, if that can not be done, at the expense of the immigrant fund, and neglect or refusal on the part of the masters, agents, owners, or consignees of vessels to comply with the order of the Secretary of Commerce and Labor to take on board, guard safely, and return to the country whence he came, shall be punished by the imposition of penalties prescribed by law.

(7) The Commissioner-General of Immigration, under the direction or with the approval of the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, shall prescribe rules for the entry and inspection of aliens along the borders of Canada and Mexico, so as not to unnecessarily delay, impede, or annoy passengers in ordinary travel between the United States and those two countries.

The President has caused the provisions of the act to be so carefully and vigorously enforced by improved methods of administration under Commissioner-General of Immigration Frank P. Sargeant, the former grand master of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, that many hundreds of diseased and unfit foreigners seeking entrance to the United States have been deported to their former places of residence.

PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT.

The Government is itself a large employer of labor, and by the force of its example exerts a great influence upon other employers. President Roosevelt in his message to Congress has recommended legislation to establish the eight-hour day and "fair" wages on all public work, whether done by the Government itself or by contractors for the Government. Thus his first message to Congress in 1901 contained the following recommendations:

The National Government should demand the highest quality of service from its employees, and in return it should be a good employer. If possible, legislation should be passed in connection with the interstate commerce law which will render effective the efforts of different States to do away with the competition of convict contract labor in the open labor market. So far as practicable under the conditions of Government

work provision should be made to render the enforcement of the eight-hour law easy and certain. In all industries carried on directly or indirectly for the United States Government women and children should be protected from excessive hours of labor, from night work, and from work under unsanitary conditions.

The Government should provide in its contracts that all work should be done under "fair" conditions, and, in addition to setting a high standard, should uphold it by proper inspection, extending, if necessary, to the sub-contractors. The Government should forbid all night work for women and children, as well as excessive overtime. For the District of Columbia a good factory law should be passed, and as a powerful indirect aid to such laws, provision should be made to turn the inhabited alleys, the existence of which is a reproach to our capital city, into minor streets, where the inhabitants can live under conditions favorable to health and morals.

PROHIBITING THE EMPLOYMENT OF MONGOLIANS ON IRRIGATION WORKS AND APPLYING THE EIGHT-HOUR LAW TO SUCH PROJECTS.

On June 17, 1902, President Roosevelt approved a measure authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to cause to be let contracts for the construction, where practicable, of irrigation works. The act provides that eight hours shall be a day's labor on such projects and prohibits the employment of Mongolians thereon.

ABOLISHING SLAVERY IN THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

President Roosevelt, on July 1, 1902, approved a bill which provided that "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist" in the Philippine Islands.

The government of the islands is empowered to "grant franchises, privileges, and concessions, including the authority to exercise the right of eminent domain for the construction and operation of works of public utility and service." It is "unlawful for any corporation organized under this act, or for any person, company, or corporation receiving any grant, franchise, or concession from the government of said islands to use, employ, or contract for the labor of persons claimed or alleged to be held in involuntary servitude and any person, company, or corporation so violating the provisions of this act shall forfeit all charters, grants, franchises, and concessions for doing business in said islands, and in addition shall be deemed guilty of an offense and shall be punished by a fine of not less than \$10,000."

MINE REGULATIONS IN TERRITORIES.

Through an amendatory act of Congress, signed by President Roosevelt on July 1, 1902, mine regulations in Territories have been greatly improved. These changes have bettered the sanitary condition of mines, thus insuring the preservation of the health of miners and other employees, besides affording additional protection to life and limb. The amended law requires that—

The owners or managers of every coal mine shall provide an adequate amount of ventilation of not less than 83.5 cubic feet of pure air per second, or 5,000 cubic feet per minute, for every fifty men at work in said mine, and in like proportion for a greater number, which air shall, by proper appliances or machinery, be forced through such mine to the face of each and every working place, so as to dilute and render harmless and expel therefrom the noxious or poisonous gases. Whenever it is practicable to do so, the entries, rooms, and all openings being operated in coal mines shall be kept well dampened with water to cause the coal dust to settle, and that when water is not obtainable at reasonable cost for this purpose, accumulations of dust shall be taken out of the mine and shall not be deposited in way places in the mine where it would be again distributed in the atmosphere by the ventilating currents.

It is also provided that—

Owners, lessees, operators of, or any other person having the control or management of any coal shaft, drift, slope, or pit in the Indian Territory, employing twenty

or more miners to work in the same, shall employ shot firers to fire the shots therein. Said shots shall not be fired to exceed one per day; at 12 o'clock noon in cases where the miners work but half a day, and at 5 o'clock in the evening when the mine is working three-quarters or full time, and they shall not be fired until after all miners and other employees working in said shafts, drifts, slopes, or pits shall be out of same. The violation of this act shall constitute a misdemeanor, and any person convicted of such violation shall pay a fine of not exceeding \$500.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND LABOR.

President Roosevelt gave his approval on February 14, 1903, to the Congressional bill creating the Department of Commerce and Labor and providing for the appointment by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, of a Secretary of Commerce and Labor, a Cabinet officer. The province and duty of the Department is to foster, promote, and develop the labor interests, the foreign and domestic commerce, the mining, manufacturing, shipping, and fishery industries, and the transportation facilities of the United States; and to this end it is vested with jurisdiction and control of several existing departments, bureaus, offices, and branches of the public service, specified in the statute.

A MODEL LABOR CODE FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

While there are not many wage-workers in the District of Columbia to call for legal protection, President Roosevelt realizes that if Congress should enact a good labor code for the District it would be a model for the States and Territories, and, accordingly, in his second message to Congress he renewed his recommendations in favor of such legislation in the following language:

The District of Columbia is the only part of our territory in which the National Government exercises local or municipal functions, and where in consequence the Government has a free hand in reference to certain types of social and economic legislation which must be essentially local or municipal in character. The Government should see to it, for instance, that the hygienic and sanitary legislation affecting Washington is of a high character.

The evils of slum dwellings, whether in the shape of crowded and congested tenement-house districts or of the back-alley type, should never be permitted to grow up in Washington. The city should be a model in every respect for all the cities of the country. The charitable and correctional systems of the District should receive consideration at the hands of Congress to the end that they may embody the results of the most advanced thought in these fields. Moreover, while Washington is not a great industrial city, there is some industrialism here, and our labor legislation, while it would not be important in itself, might be made a model for the rest of the nation. We should pass, for instance, a wise employers' liability act for the District of Columbia, and we need such an act in our navy-yards. Railroad companies in the District ought to be required by law to block their frogs.

LICENSING EMPLOYMENT OFFICES IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

When he was governor of New York, Mr. Roosevelt called the attention of the legislature to the fact that "abuses have occurred in connection with the employment offices in the larger cities, which are now allowed to violate the law with impunity, the power of punishment lying with the local authorities." He therefore recommended the enactment of legislation requiring the keeper of any employment office to procure a license on the payment of a substantial fee, thus restricting the business to responsible parties and keeping it under the control of the State administration. As President, to insure Government supervision of employment agencies in the District of Columbia, he, on July 1, 1902, approved a measure which provides that "proprietors or owners of intelligence offices, information bureaus, registries, or employment offices, by whatsoever name called, shall pay a license tax of \$10 per annum."

EXEMPTING FROM TAXATION IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA HOUSEHOLD EFFECTS TO THE VALUE OF \$1,000, WEARING AP- PAREL, LIBRARIES, BOOKS, Etc.

According to a bill to which President Roosevelt affixed his signature on July 1, 1902, the following personal property is exempt from taxation in the District of Columbia: Household and other belongings, not held for sale, to the value of \$1,000, owned by the occupant of any dwelling house or other place of abode in which such household and other belongings may be located; also, libraries, schoolbooks, wearing apparel, articles of personal adornment, all family portraits, and heirlooms.

EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY LAW.

President Roosevelt has always expressed himself in favor of employers' liability laws under which workmen suffering injury through the negligence of the employer or his agents might recover compensation for his injuries. While governor of New York he recommended the enactment of such a law, and in the preceding paragraph he recommended similar legislation for the protection of workmen employed in the Government navy-yards, as well as for the District of Columbia, and in fact wherever the jurisdiction of the United States is supreme. Many accidents would never occur if the employer had to compensate employees injured without fault of their own, as is required in most European countries.

SAFETY-APPLIANCE LAWS.

Another way in which workmen may be protected from accidents is by requiring the employer to safeguard machinery. Federal legislation along this line has been restricted to transportation companies engaged in interstate commerce.

On March 2, 1893, the safety-appliance law, or the "car-coupler bill," as it is sometimes called, was passed by Congress. The main purpose of this legislation was protection for the lives and limbs of railway employees, and it has proved vastly beneficial to this class of wage-workers. The reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission show that in 1893, the year in which the law was passed, the casualties to railway employees, due to coupling and uncoupling cars, numbered 11,710 (433 deaths and 11,277 injuries), while in 1902, the first full year of the law's operation, the casualties numbered but 2,256 (143 deaths and 2,113 injuries), a decrease of more than 9,000 in the annual number of casualties of this character, notwithstanding that in 1902 there were over 20,000 more men at risk than there were in 1893.

The adoption of these appliances has also been of much benefit to the railroads, independently of their effect in adding to the safety of life and limb. Had it not been for the general adoption of automatic couplers and air brakes on freight trains it would have been impossible for the railroads during recent years to have met the wonderfully increased demands of traffic, as they have been met by the use of vastly heavier and more powerful locomotives, more capacious cars, and longer and infinitely heavier trains—trains that certainly could not have been safely handled with the appliances in general use when the law was enacted.

However, as has been the case with almost all laws of this character, experience disclosed certain defects in the law and showed that it was impossible to obtain the full benefit contemplated by the framers of the law without the enactment of certain amendments which were proposed. The President took a most active interest in this matter, calling attention to it in his message to Congress under date of December 2, 1902, as follows:

The safety-appliance law for the better protection of the lives and limbs of railway employees, which was passed in 1893, went into full effect on August 1, 1901.

It has resulted in averting thousands of casualties. Experience shows, however, the necessity of additional legislation to perfect this law. A bill to provide for this passed the Senate at the last session. It is to be hoped that some such measure may now be enacted into law.

The President rendered invaluable assistance in furthering the passage of the amended law, which finally passed both Houses of Congress and received the President's approval on March 2, 1903.

The necessity for this legislation had become imperative owing to a decision of the circuit court of appeals for the eighth circuit, which held:

(1) That the law did not require that locomotives or their tenders should be equipped with automatic couplers.

(2) That a car, having completed an interstate journey and laying over at a local point for the purpose of renewing or starting upon another interstate journey, was not in use in interstate traffic while so laying over, and in any event an empty car could not be considered as being used in interstate traffic.

(3) That if cars were equipped with automatic couplers which would couple automatically with other couplers of the same kind or type, the law had been complied with, that it was not necessary that cars should be equipped with couplers that would couple automatically with another make of coupler which might be adopted by another road.

The decision defeated the main purpose of the law—the establishment of uniformity and interchangeability of couplers all over the country.

The amended law removes all ambiguity concerning the points covered by the decision of the circuit court of appeals and cures the defects which Judge Sanborn deduced from the wording of the original law, besides adding other important provisions calculated to increase the safety of employees.

The original act applied to cars and trains used in moving interstate traffic, while the amended act applies to any common carrier engaged in interstate commerce by railroad in the Territories and the District of Columbia, its language being as follows:

And shall apply in all cases, whether or not the couplers brought together are of the same kind, make, or type, and the provisions and requirements hereof and of said acts relating to train brakes, automatic couplers, grab irons, and the height of drawbars, shall be held to apply to all trains, locomotives, tenders, cars, and similar vehicles used on any railroad engaged in interstate commerce, and in the Territories and the District of Columbia, and to all other locomotives, cars, and similar vehicles used in connection therewith, excepting those trains, cars, and locomotives exempted by the provisions of section 6 of said act of March 2, 1893, as amended by the act of April 1, 1896, or which are used upon street railways.

It will thus be seen that under the amended law it is not necessary that a particular car or train be used in interstate commerce to bring it under the provisions of the law, but merely that the road itself be engaged in handling interstate traffic. Locomotives, tenders, snowplows, caboose cars, and all similar vehicles are also brought under the operation of the law. The law also requires that all trains on roads engaged in interstate commerce shall have at least fifty per cent. of the cars in each train equipped with power or train brakes, and such brakes shall be used and operated by the engineer of the locomotive hauling such train, and the Interstate Commerce Commission may increase this minimum percentage on any road from time to time, after full hearing, as the circumstances and conditions of traffic may seem to require, the object being to do away with the necessity for men to traverse the tops of rapidly moving trains in all sorts of weather for the purpose of controlling their speed by means of the hand brakes.

THE PRESIDENT AND THE COAL STRIKE OF 1902.

The President has frequently emphasized the need of more sympathy between employers and employees and deprecated the cultivation of class feeling with its resulting antagonisms.

Very much of our effort in reference to labor matters—

He said at Sioux Falls in April, 1903—

should be by every device and expedient to try to secure a constantly better understanding between employer and employee. Everything possible should be done to increase the sympathy and fellow-feeling between them, and every chance taken to allow each to look at all questions, especially at questions in dispute, somewhat through the other's eyes.

If met with a sincere desire to act fairly by one another, and if there is, furthermore, power by each to appreciate the other's standpoint, the chance for trouble is minimized. I suppose every thinking man rejoices when by mediation or arbitration it proves possible to settle troubles in time to avert the suffering and bitterness caused by strikes. Moreover, a conciliation committee can do best work when the trouble is in its beginning, or at least has not come to a head. When the break has actually occurred, damage has been done, and each side feels sore and angry, and it is difficult to get them together, difficult to make either forget its own wrongs and remember the rights of the other. If possible, the effort of conciliation or mediation or arbitration should be made in the earlier stages, and should be marked by the wish on the part of both sides to try to come to a common agreement, which each shall think in the interest of the other as well as of itself.

When we deal with such a subject we are fortunate in having before us an admirable object lesson in the work that has just been closed by the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission. This was the commission which was appointed last fall, at the time when the coal strike in the anthracite regions threatened our nation with a disaster second to none which has befallen us since the days of the civil war. Their report was made just before the Senate adjourned at the special session, and no Government document of recent years marks a more important piece of work better done, and there is none which teaches sounder social morality to our people. The commission consisted of seven as good men as were to be found in the country, representing the bench, the church, the Army, the professions, the employers, and the employed. They acted as a unit and the report which they unanimously signed is a masterpiece of sound common sense and of sound doctrine on the very questions with which our people should most deeply concern themselves. The immediate effect of this commission's appointment and action was of vast and incalculable benefit to the nation, but the ultimate effect will be even better if capitalist, wage-worker, and lawmaker alike will take to heart and act upon the lessons set forth in the report they have made.

ULTIMATE EFFECT.

The appointment of this commission, which resulted in the termination of the great coal strike of 1902, is perhaps President Roosevelt's most widely known and generally appreciated contribution toward the improvement of industrial relations. When the efforts of all other peacemakers had come to naught and the coal famine remained unbroken at the near approach of winter, Mr. Roosevelt, as a representative American citizen, pleaded with the operators and miners to terminate their dispute and resume the mining of coal. Public opinion supported his action so strongly that both sides to the dispute agreed to resume work and leave to a commission to be appointed by the President the determination of the conditions of employment concerning which they had been unable to agree. The President's commission not only adjusted the dispute in the coal regions, but in so doing formulated principles of very general application to the organization of industry at the present time. The immediate effect of the commission's appointment was, as the President has himself stated, "of vast and incalculable benefit to the nation, but the ultimate effect will be even better if capitalist, wage-worker, and lawmaker alike will take to heart and

act upon the lessons set forth in the report" of the commission. The coal industry is typical of all the great industries of to-day that are organized on the principle of large-scale production, and its treatment of the labor problem is therefore highly illuminative.

ORIGIN OF THE STRIKE.

Under the influence of a vast stream of immigration of Poles, Hungarians, and Slavs into the coal regions during the last two or three decades wages had steadily declined. The American miners saw their own standard of living threatened by the lower standards brought from central Europe unless they could induce these newcomers to unite with them in an effort to put an end to the incessant underbidding for employment. In 1897 they brought their organization, the United Mine Workers, to such a state of perfection that it dominated the labor situation in the bituminous regions and met the employers' associations on an equality in the annual settlement of the terms of employment. In 1899 the organization spread to the anthracite regions and the next year was able to secure a 10 per cent. advance in wages, after a comparatively short strike that was supported as heartily by the miners outside the union as by the minority at that time in the union.

As a consequence of this triumph a vast majority of the miners joined the organization, which thereupon sought to represent the miners in making terms with the employers' agents at annual conferences such as were held with the bituminous operators. The denial of this request by the officers of the mining corporations nearly brought on another strike in 1901, and when early in 1902 a similar request, accompanied with a demand for an advance in wages, etc., was once more denied, industrial peace could no longer be preserved. The operators even refused the union's offer to submit its demands to the arbitration of the National Civic Federation or other arbitrators, and a week later a delegate convention of the anthracite mine workers voted to continue the strike ordered on May 12. In obedience to this decision, says the commission, "nearly the entire body of mine workers, which numbers about 147,000, abandoned their employment and remained idle until the strike was called off by another convention," that is, until October 23, 1902.

ACTION OF THE PRESIDENT.

With the progress of summer and the failure of all mediatory efforts to adjust the differences between the miners and the operators the scarcity of fuel made itself felt. Many factories that were dependent upon anthracite had to shut down, throwing large numbers of working people out of employment, and the famine prices at which coal was sold almost prohibited its use for domestic purposes by the poorer families. As cold weather approached the President felt himself virtually compelled to act in order to avert unexampled distress throughout all eastern communities that depended upon anthracite coal for domestic heating purposes. In October 1 he telegraphed an invitation to the presidents of the five coal railroad companies, a prominent individual operator, and the president of the miners' organization to confer with him "in regard to the failure of the coal supply, which had become a matter of vital concern to the whole nation." To these seven persons, who met the President

AT THE WHITE HOUSE ON OCTOBER 3,

Mr. Roosevelt said: "I wish to call your attention to the fact that there are three parties affected by the situation in the anthracite trade—the operators, the miners, and the general public. I speak for neither the operators nor the miners, but for the general public. The questions at issue which led to the situation affect immediately the parties concerned—the operators and the miners—but the situation itself vitally affects the public. As long as there seemed to be a reasonable hope that these nat-

ters could be adjusted between the parties, it did not seem proper to me to intervene in any way. I disclaim any right or duty to intervene in this way upon legal grounds or upon any official relation that I bear to the situation, but the urgency and the terrible nature of the catastrophe impending over a large portion of our people in the shape of a winter fuel famine impel me, after much anxious thought, to believe that my duty requires me to use whatever influence I personally can to bring to an end a situation which has become literally intolerable. I wish to emphasize the character of the situation and to say that its gravity is such that I am constrained urgently to insist that each one of you realize the heavy burden of responsibility upon him.

"We are upon the threshold of winter, with an already existing coal famine, the future terrors of which we can hardly yet appreciate. The evil possibilities are so far-reaching, so appalling, that it seems to me that you are not only justified in sinking, but required to sink for the time being, any tenacity as to your respective claims in the matter at issue between you. In my judgment the situation imperatively requires that you meet upon the common plane of the necessities of the public. With all the earnestness there is in me, I ask that there be an immediate resumption of operations in the coal mines in some such way as will without a day's unnecessary delay meet the crying needs of the people.

"I do not invite a discussion of your respective claims and positions. I appeal to your patriotism, to the spirit that sinks personal considerations and makes individual sacrifices for the general good."

At the conclusion of the President's remarks,

MR. MITCHELL REPLIED AS FOLLOWS:

Mr. President, I am much impressed with what you say, I am impressed with the gravity of the situation. We feel that we are not responsible for this terrible state of affairs. We are willing to meet the gentlemen representing the coal operators to try to adjust our differences among ourselves. If we can not adjust them that way, Mr. President, we are willing that you shall name a tribunal who shall determine the issues that have resulted in this strike; and if the gentlemen representing the operators will accept the award or decision of such a tribunal, the miners will willingly accept it, even if it is against their claims.

The President. Before considering what ought to be done I think it only just to both of you—both sides—and desirable from my standpoint, that you should have time to consider what I have stated as to the reasons for my getting you together, and I shall trespass so far upon your good nature as to ask that this interview cease now and that you come back at 3 o'clock. I should like you to think over what I have stated, not to decide now, but give it careful thought and return at 3 o'clock.

The conference then adjourned until 3 o'clock.

The President then put an end to the interview and asked both parties to think over what he had stated and return in the afternoon. Upon reassembling the operators made long statements of their side of the case; but in reply to the President's inquiry whether they would accept Mr. Mitchell's proposition they answered "No." In response to a further question from the President they stated that they would have no dealings whatever with Mr. Mitchell looking toward a settlement of the question at issue and that they had no other proposition to make, save what was contained in the statement of Mr. Baer, which, in effect, was that if any man chose to resume work and had a difficulty with his employer, both should leave the settlement of the question to the judge of the court of common pleas of the district in which the mine was located.

A COMMISSION OF FIVE TO BE APPOINTED BY THE PRESIDENT.

In view of the growing public demand for the resumption of coal mining, however, the operators reconsidered their refusal to arbitrate their dispute with the miners, and a few days later proposed that it be settled by a commission of five, to be appointed by the President, and to be composed of an officer of the Army or Navy, an expert mining engineer, a United States circuit court judge from Pennsylvania, a sociologist, and a man who had been in the coal business. As the last-mentioned mem-

ber would come from the ranks of the employers, the miners naturally demanded a modification of the operators' proposition, which should allow them a representative on the Commission.

When the Commission was appointed on October 16 it therefore consisted of six members, and by the subsequent addition of the United States Commissioner of Labor its final composition was as follows: Brig. Gen. John M. Wilson; Edward M. Parker, of the United States Geological Survey; Judge George Gray, of the United States circuit court of the eastern district of Pennsylvania; Bishop John L. Spalding, of the Catholic Church; Thomas H. Watkins, a retired coal operator; Edgar E. Clark, chief of the Order of Railway Conductors, and Hon. Carroll D. Wright. On October 21 a convention of the miners voted to submit all the questions at issue to this Commission and to resume work on October 23. The presidents of the anthracite coal roads agreed to abide by the decision of the Commission, and in the course of its proceedings the leading independent operators and non-union miners also became parties to the arbitration agreement, so that the board's awards, when announced on March 18, 1903, covered virtually the entire anthracite mining industry.

All through their investigations and deliberations the conviction has grown upon the commissioners that if they could evoke and confirm a more genuine spirit of good will, a more conciliatory disposition in the operators and their employees in their relations toward one another, they would do a better and more lasting work than any which mere rulings, however wise or just, may accomplish. Fairness, forbearance, and good will are the prerequisites of peace and harmonious cooperation in all the social and economic relation of men. The interests of employer and employees are reciprocal. The success of industrial processes is the result of their cooperation, and their attitude toward one another, therefore, should be that of friends, not that of foes; and since those who depend for a livelihood on the labor of their hands bear the heavier burdens and have less opportunity to upbuild their higher being, the men of position and education, for whom they labor, should lead them not more in virtue of their greater ability and capital than in virtue of their greater loving-kindness.

Where production is controlled despotically by capital there may be a seeming prosperity, but the qualities which give sacredness and worth to life are enfeebled or destroyed. In the absence of a trustful and conciliatory disposition the strife between capital and labor can not be composed by laws and contrivances. The causes from which it springs are as deep as man's nature, and nothing that is powerless to illumine the mind and touch the heart can reach the fountain head of the evil. So long as employers and employees continue to look on one another as opponents and antagonists so long shall their relations be unsatisfactory and strained, requiring but a slight thing to provoke the open warfare which is called a strike.

It is in this spirit the commission has made its investigation and submits its report and award, and it is in this spirit the award must be received by all the parties to the submission if it is to have the effect desired by them and by all good citizens.

THE INCREASE OF WAGES.

The four demands of the miners were for an increase of 20 per cent. in the piece rates paid to contract miners, the rates to be based on weight of the coal instead of the carload, a reduction of 20 per cent. (from ten to eight hours a day) in the hours of labor of workmen employed by the day, and the recognition of the union by the establishment of a joint trade agreement between the representatives of employers and employed. The commission compromised on the matter of wages by awarding an increase of 10 per cent., with additional increases under a sliding-scale system when the market price of coal rose above the existing level; a reduction in hours from ten to nine; the establishment of a joint board of conciliation, representing employers and employed, to decide disputed questions during the life of the award (to March 31, 1906.)

THE ADVANCE IN WAGE RATES TOOK EFFECT NOVEMBER 1, 1902.

The commission found great difficulty in ascertaining the actual earnings of miners, owing to their irregular employment. It estimated the average annual income of the most highly paid class of employees—the contract miners or skilled hewers of coal—to be about \$560. This was in 1901, “a year of unusual activity in the anthracite field,” as the commission states. The average number of days throughout the region on which the collieries started was about 260, and the miners worked about 236 days, which is much more ample employment than they had in other years. Even so, their daily earnings (for 313 week days in the year) average only \$1.80, which is not a large wage when compared with other skilled trades; and when the fearful hazards of their employment, exceeding even those of railroad men, are considered, such earnings seem quite modest. The miners also had little difficulty in proving that the 10 per cent. increase won in 1900 had not improved their condition, since the cost of living had correspondingly increased since 1900.

Several merchants testified that the price of necessities of life in the anthracite region had increased more than 20 per cent. between 1900 and 1902, while the official statistics of the United States Department of Labor revealed an increase of 10 per cent. in the price of food consumed by the average workingman's family. In view of all the circumstances, the commission awarded a 10 per cent. increase in piece rates, to take effect November 1, 1902. Such rates are to be the minimum, and are to be increased with every increase in the price of coal above \$4.50 a ton at tide water, at the rate of 1 per cent. for each 5 cents per ton. While the base price is seldom likely to be exceeded, the sliding scale will give to the miners something like two-fifths of the advantage of an increase should the operators attempt to gouge the public, and is thus a protection to consumers as well as miners.

THE MINERS AND THEIR LABORERS.

The increase in rates granted to contract miners will be shared by them with the laborers whom they hire to load their coal, paying therefor about 35 per cent. of their gross receipts.

The laborers' earnings were estimated to be slightly more than 60 per cent of those of the real miners, or \$350, in 1901. The commission also decided that the laborers should be paid directly by the company, instead of by the miners, the amount of their earnings as reported by the miners.

The miners and their laborers constitute about two-fifths of the mine workers, the remaining 60 per cent. being men and boys employed chiefly in and about the breakers by the week, day, or hour, and commonly designated as “company men.” In their case also the commission found that rates of wages were of little significance owing to irregular employment; thus, in 1901, the average number of days on which the breakers started was 258, but the average number of hours per start was only 7.6.

As the men are paid for a ten-hour day, they averaged only 196 full days in the year. The significance of the 10 per cent. reduction in hours now appears, it being equivalent to an advance of 11 1-9 per cent. in wages. Thus the “company man” who received \$1.50 per day really worked for 15 cents an hour on the old basis of the ten-hour day. On the new basis of the nine-hour day the wage of \$1.50 a day means 16 2-3 cents an hour, and yearly earnings will increase proportionately. The justice of this 11 1-9 per cent increase will be appreciated when it is stated that the average earnings of adult men were under \$400 in 1901, a year of exceptionally ample employment. Thus in 1901 the average number of ten-hour days of employment was 196, as compared with 149 in 1897 and 148 in 1898.

The commission found it impracticable to establish a system whereby miners should

be paid by the ton rather than by the car, but provided that the operators should permit miners to employ check weighmen to watch the weighing and docking of coal in their interest.

The only average presented by the commission is one for 33,851 men and boys, namely, \$377.76, but the detailed statistics seem to justify the foregoing estimate.

RECOGNITION OF THE UNION.

Notwithstanding the importance of the wages question, the really fundamental point at issue was the recognition of the right of collective bargaining—that is, the right of the workingmen to combine and choose representatives to make an annual bargain or contract with the company officials (the representatives of the stockholders or employers) concerning the conditions of employment, as is the practice in the bituminous trade, on the great railway systems, and in large-scale manufacturing. While denying in terms the miners' demand for "the incorporation in an agreement between the United Mine Workers and the anthracite coal companies of the wages which shall be paid and the conditions of employment which shall obtain, together with satisfactory methods for the adjustment of grievances," the commission in effect sustained the miners by upholding the principle of collective bargaining and by establishing a joint board of arbitration, on which the representatives of the employees must inevitably be officers of the union.

THE FUNDAMENTAL DOCTRINE OF TRADE UNIONISM IS SUPPORTED BY THE COMMISSION IN THE FOLLOWING WORDS:

In the days when the employer had but few employees, personal acquaintance and direct contact of the employer and the employee resulted in mutual knowledge of the surrounding conditions and the desires of each. The development of the employers into large corporations has rendered such personal contact and acquaintance between the responsible employer and the individual employee no longer possible in the old sense. The tendency toward peace and good-fellowship which grows out of personal acquaintance or direct contact should not, however, be lost through this evolution to greater combinations. There seems to be no medium through which to preserve it so natural and efficient as that of an organization of employees governed by rules which represent the will of a properly constituted majority of its members and officered by members selected for that purpose, and in whom authority to administer the rules and affairs of the union and its members is vested.

The men employed in a certain line of work or branch of industry have similar feelings, aspirations, and convictions, the natural outgrowth of their common work and common trend or application of mind. The union, representing their community of interests, is the logical result of their community of thought. It encourages calm and intelligent consideration of matters of common interest. In the absence of a union the extremist gets a ready hearing for incendiary appeals to the prejudice or passion when a grievance, real or fancied, of a general nature presents itself for consideration.

The claim of the worker that he has the same right to join with his fellows in forming an organization through which to be represented that the stockholder of the corporation has to join others in forming the corporation and to be represented by the directors and other officers seems to be thoroughly well founded not only in ethics, but under economic considerations. Some employers say to their employees: "We do not object to your joining the union, but we will not recognize your union nor deal with it as representing you." If the union is to be rendered impotent and its usefulness is to be nullified by refusing to permit it to perform the functions for which it is created and for which alone it exists, permission to join it may well be considered as a privilege of doubtful value.

Trades unionism is rapidly becoming a matter of business, and that employer who fails to give the same careful attention to the question of his relation to his labor or his employees which he gives to the other factors which enter into the conduct of his business makes a mistake which sooner or later he will be obliged to correct. In this as in other things it is much better to start right than to make mistakes in starting, which necessitate returning to correct them. *Experience shows that the more*

full the recognition given to a trades union the more businesslike and responsible it becomes. Through dealing with business men in business matters its more intelligent, conservative, and responsible members come to the front and gain general control and direction of its affairs. If the energy of the employer is directed to discouragement and repression of the union, he need not be surprised if the more radically inclined members are the ones most frequently heard.

The commission agrees that a plan under which all questions of difference between the employer and his employees shall first be considered in conference between the employer or his official representative and a committee chosen by his employees from their own ranks is most likely to produce satisfactory results and harmonious relations, and at such conference the employees should have the right to call to their assistance such representatives or agents as they may choose, and to have them recognized as such.

BUT THE COMMISSION ALSO POINTS OUT THE OBLIGATIONS OF UNION MEN, THUS:

In order to be entitled to such recognition the labor organization or union must give the same recognition to the rights of the employer and of others which it demands for itself and for its members. The worker has the right to quit or to strike in conjunction with his fellows, when by so doing he does not violate a contract made by or for him. He has neither the right nor license to destroy or to damage the property of the employer; neither has he any right or license to intimidate or to use violence against the man who chooses to exercise his right to work, nor to interfere with those who do not feel that the union offers the best method for adjusting grievances.

The union must not undertake to assume or to interfere with the management of the business of the employer. It should strive to make membership in it so valuable as to attract all who are eligible; but in its efforts to build itself up it must not lose sight of the fact that those who may think differently have certain rights guaranteed them by our free government. However irritating it may be to see a man enjoy benefits to the securing of which he refuses to contribute, either morally or physically or financially, the fact that he has a right to dispose of his personal services as he chooses can not be ignored. The non-union man assumes the whole responsibility which results from his being such, but his right and privilege of being a non-union man are sanctioned in law and morals.

THE COMMISSION DECLARES THAT THE RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES OF NONUNION MEN ARE AS SACRED TO THEM AS THE RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES OF UNIONISTS.

The contention that a majority of the employees in an industry, by voluntarily associating themselves in a union, acquire authority over those who do not so associate themselves is untenable. Those who voluntarily associate themselves believe that in their efforts to improve conditions they are working as much in the interest of the unorganized as in their own, and out of this grows the contention that when a non-union man works during a strike he violates the rights and privileges of those associated in efforts to better the general condition and in aspirations to a higher standard of living.

The non-union man, who does not believe that the union can accomplish these things, insists with equal sincerity that the union destroys his efforts to secure a better standard of living, and interferes with his aspirations for improvement. The fallacy of such argument lies in the use of the analogy of State government, under which the minority acquiesces in the rule of the majority, but government is the result of organic law, within the scope of which no other government can assume authority to control the minority. In all acts of government the minority takes part, and when it is defeated the government becomes the agency of all, not simply of the majority.

It should be remembered that the trade union is a voluntary social organization, and, like any other organization, is subordinate to the laws of the land and can not make rules or regulations in contravention thereof. Yet it at times seeks to set itself up as a separate and distinct governing agency and to control those who have refused to join its ranks and to consent to its government, and to deny to them the personal liberties which are guaranteed to every citizen by the Constitution and laws of the land. The analogy, therefore, is unsound and does not apply.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN SAID:

"No man is good enough to govern another man without that other's consent." This is as true in trade unions as elsewhere, and not until those who fail to recognize this truth abandon their attitude toward non-union men and follow the suggestion made above—that is, to make their work and their membership so valuable and attractive that all who are eligible to membership will come under their rule—will they secure that firm and constant sympathy of the public which their general purposes seem to demand.

The commission stated its belief that with certain changes in its constitution the mine-workers' organization would merit recognition by the employers. At present the boys in the union constitute about 20 per cent. of the membership, and the presence of this immature element might readily lead to trouble by carrying a vote for a strike when the more conservative and experienced members might be opposed to it. The commission also believes that instead of a majority vote there should be required at least a two-thirds vote of all the delegates in a convention in order to begin a strike. Finally, the commission expresses a hope that—

When under the award the parties have faithfully obeyed its terms and thus learned to deal with each other, a trade agreement between operators and an anthracite mine workers' organization may commend itself to both sides. *We believe this, especially when it is considered that in other directions and in other industries such agreements have been made and adhered to for terms of years, completely avoiding strikes and labor controversies generally.* Of course, here and there in the bituminous regions these agreements may not have worked with perfect satisfaction to both parties, and in some districts they have been abandoned after a brief trial. But, on the whole, the experience under them in this country and in England testifies to their great usefulness in preserving peace and harmony.

Meanwhile during the life of the award, disputes arising between employers and employees are to be adjusted by a permanent joint committee or board of conciliation composed of three representatives of the operators and the same number of representatives of the miners. When this committee is unable to decide any question submitted, such question is to be referred to an umpire appointed by a judge of the United States circuit court. As the miners' representatives in each of the three districts are to be selected by the union whenever its membership comprises a majority of the mine workers in that district, the award is tantamount to the recognition of the union during the three years of its life.

THE RIGHT TO STRIKE AND THE RIGHT TO WORK.

Having thus vindicated the principles of unionism, the commission ruled that no operator should discriminate against union men in the matter of employment. It likewise ruled that union men should not discriminate against or interfere with non-unionists, pointing out that such discrimination on the part of either employer or employed constitutes a serious menace to the discipline of the miner, which, on account of the hazardous nature of the work, should be as nearly perfect as possible.

The right to strike the commission firmly upholds, but this does not include the right to persecute men who choose to work.

A strike set on foot with the view to the accomplishment of its purpose by intimidation or violence exercised against those who choose to remain at work violates the law from the beginning. Where, however, the strike itself is separable from the illegal violence and intimidation which in many cases accompany it, the legal liability for such violence and intimidation rests alone upon the individuals who commit the act, and those who aid, encourage, and abet them. Though no illegality of purpose is imputable to those inaugurating a strike, its existence, if it involve large numbers of men in a single community, tends of itself to produce disorder and lawlessness.

As has been said, the idle and vicious, who are in no way connected with the pur-

pose or object of the strike, often unite with the less orderly of the strikers themselves in creating the deplorable scenes of violence and terror which have all too often characterized the otherwise laudable efforts of organized labor to improve its conditions. Surely this tendency to disorder and violation of law imposes upon the organization which begins and conducts a movement of such importance a grave responsibility. It has, by its voluntary act, created dangers, and should therefore be vigilant in averting them. It has, by the concerted action of many, aroused passions which, uncontrolled, threaten the public peace. It therefore owes society the duty of exerting its power to check and confine these passions within the bounds of reason and law. Such organizations should be the powerful coadjutors of government in maintaining the peace and upholding the law. Only so can they deserve and attain the respect due to good citizenship, and only so can they accomplish the beneficent ends which for the most part they are created to attain.

A LABOR OR OTHER ORGANIZATION WHOSE PURPOSE CAN ONLY BE ACCOMPLISHED BY THE VIOLATION OF LAW AND ORDER OF SOCIETY HAS NO RIGHT TO EXIST.

The right to remain at work where others have ceased to work, or to engage anew in work which others have abandoned, is part of the personal liberty of a citizen that can never be surrendered, and every infringement thereof merits, and should receive, the stern denouncement of the law. All government implies restraint, and it is not less, but more, necessary in self-governed communities than in others to compel restraint of the passions of men which make for disorder and lawlessness. Our language is the language of a free people, and fails to furnish any form of speech by which the right of a citizen to work when he pleases, for whom he pleases, and on what terms he pleases can be successfully denied. The common sense of our people as well as the common law forbids that this right should be assailed with impunity. It is vain to say that the man who remains at work while others cease to work or takes the place of one who has abandoned his work helps to defeat the aspirations of men who seek to obtain better recompense for their labor and better conditions of life. Approval of the object of a strike or persuasion that its purpose is high and noble can not sanction an attempt to destroy the right of others to a different opinion in this respect, or to interfere with their conduct in choosing to work upon what terms and at what time and for whom it may please them so to do.

The commission censured both operators and miners for the disorder, violence, and lawlessness that accompanied the strike and culminated in three murders. It deprecated the employment by the mining companies of coal and iron policemen as militating against the very purpose for which they are employed—that of preserving peace and protecting property—while as a body they were men of good character, the commission found that there was a sufficient number of bad characters to discredit the efforts of the whole body. On the other hand, the strikers had permitted intimidation, riot, and bloodshed; men who chose to be employed or who remained at work were assailed and threatened, and they and their families terrorized and intimidated. While “the leaders of the union, and notably its president, condemned all violence and exhorted their followers to sobriety and moderation * * * the subordinate local organizations and their leaders were not so amenable to such counsels as to prevent the regrettable occurrences. It is in the power of a minority of the less responsible men and boys, together with the idle and vicious, unless properly restrained, to destroy the peace and order of any community, and absence of protection and of active resistance on the part of the better element means encouragement and license to this class.”

BOYCOTTING AND BLACKLISTING.

The commission also condemned the practice of blacklisting and certain kinds of boycotting. It distinguished between a “primary” and a “secondary” boycott. The former “consists merely in the voluntary abstention of one or many persons from social or business relations with one whom they dislike. This might amount to a

conspiracy at law if the ingredient of malicious purpose and concerted action to accomplish it were present," although the law on this point is uncertain. But when there is "a concerted purpose of a number of persons not only to abstain themselves from such intercourse, but to render the life of the victim miserable by persuading and intimidating others so to refrain, such purpose is a malicious one, and the concerted attempt to accomplish it is a conspiracy at common law, and merits and should receive the punishment due to such a crime."

Examples of such secondary boycotts are not wanting in the record of the case before the commission. A young schoolmistress of intelligence, character, and attainments was so boycotted and her dismissal from employment compelled for no other reason than that a brother, not living in her immediate family, chose to work contrary to the wishes and will of the striking miners. In several instances tradesmen were threatened with a boycott; that is, that all connected with the strikers would withhold from them their custom, and persuade others to do so, if they continued to furnish the necessities of life to the families of certain workmen who had come under the ban of the displeasure of the striking organizations.

This was carrying the boycott to an extent which was condemned by Mr. Mitchell, president of the United Mine Workers of America, in his testimony before the commission, and which certainly deserves the reprobation of all thoughtful and law-abiding citizens:

Closely allied to the boycott is the blacklist, by which employers of labor sometimes prevent the employment by others of men whom they have discharged. In other words, it is a combination among employers not to employ workmen discharged by any of the members of said combination. This system is as reprehensible and as cruel as the boycott, and should be frowned down by all humane men. Wherever it is practiced to the extent of being founded upon an agreement or concerted action, it, too, comes within the definition of the crime of conspiracy, and as such should be punished. There is also a civil remedy open to one who suffers from having been blacklisted, in an action against those who are a party to it, to recover damages compensatory of the injury received.

COMPULSORY INVESTIGATION.

The commission discussed various plans of adjusting great industrial disputes and pronounced against compulsory arbitration. It does not—

believe that in the United States such a system would meet with general approval or with success. Apart from the apparent lack of constitutional power to enact laws providing for compulsory arbitration, our industries are too vast and too complicated for the practical application of such a system.

We do believe, however, that the State and Federal Governments should provide the machinery for what may be called the compulsory investigation of controversies when they arise. The States can do this, whatever the nature of the controversy. The Federal Government can resort to some such measure when difficulties arise by reason of which the transportation of the United States mails, the operations, civil or military, of the Government of the United States, or the free and regular movement of commerce among the several States and with foreign nations are interrupted or directly affected or are threatened with being interrupted or affected.

The commission trusts that when the time during which its awards are to remain in force shall have elapsed, the relations of operator and employee will have so far improved as to make impossible such a condition as existed throughout the country in consequence of the strike in the anthracite region. Nevertheless the public has the right, when controversies like that of last year cause it serious loss and suffering, to know all the facts, and so be able to fix the responsibility. In order to do this power must be given the authorized representatives of the people to act for them by conducting a thorough investigation into all the matters involved in the controversy. This, of course, applies only to those cases where great public interests are at stake. It should not apply to petty difficulties or local strikes.

The chief benefit to be derived from the suggestion herein made lies in placing

the real facts and the responsibility for such condition authoritatively before the people, that public opinion may crystallize and make its power felt. Could such a commission as that suggested have been brought to existence in June last, we believe that the coal famine might have been averted; certainly the suffering and deprivation might have been greatly mitigated.

THE PRESIDENT AND PROPERTY RIGHTS.

President Roosevelt's successful intervention in the coal strike met with the almost unanimous approval of the people, irrespective of their political affiliations. It was not until the commission's award had been made, and thought of the great disturbance nearly banished from the minds of the people, that criticism of his conduct, arising out of the resentment of the coal mine presidents and the desire to make political capital, began to appear, based on the allegation that his interference amounted to a modification of property rights. But the criticism was hushed almost as soon as it appeared by the declaration of Judge Gray, a member of the political party opposed to the President, that "the President's action, so far from interfering with or infringing upon property rights, tended to conserve them."

JUDGE GRAY'S STATEMENT, WHICH APPEARED IN A NEW YORK CITY NEWSPAPER SEPTEMBER 1, 1903, WAS AS FOLLOWS:

I have no hesitation in saying that the President of the United States was confronted in October, 1903, by the existence of a crisis more grave and threatening than any that had occurred since the civil war. I mean that the cessation of mining in the anthracite coal country, brought about by the dispute between the miners and those who control the greatest natural monopoly in this country and perhaps in the world, had brought upon more than one-half of the American people a condition of deprivation of one of the necessities of life, and the probable continuance of the dispute threatened not only the comfort and health, but the safety and good order of the nation. He was without legal or constitutional power to interfere, but his position as President of the United States gave him an influence, a leadership, as first citizen of the Republic, that enabled him to appeal to the patriotism and good sense of the parties to the controversy and to place upon them the moral coercion of public opinion to agree to an arbitrament of the strike then existing and threatening consequences so direful to the whole country. He acted promptly and courageously, and in so doing averted the dangers to which I have alluded.

So far from interfering or infringing upon property rights, the President's action tended to conserve them. The peculiar situation as regards the anthracite coal interest was that they controlled a natural monopoly of a product necessary to the comfort and to the very life of a large portion of the people. A prolonged deprivation of the enjoyment of this necessary of life would have tended to precipitate an attack upon these property rights of which you speak, for, after all, it is vain to deny that this property, so peculiar in its conditions, and which is properly spoken of as a "natural monopoly," is affected with public interest.

I do not think that any President ever acted more wisely, courageously, or promptly in a national crisis. Mr. Roosevelt deserves unstinted praise for what he did.

EXTRACTS FROM THEODORE ROOSEVELT'S PUBLIC PAPERS AND ADDRESSES.

Under this caption are included extracts from the messages of Theodore Roosevelt while governor of New York and as President of the United States, besides excerpts from his most important addresses on the rostrum. These public papers and speeches cover a wide range of industrial subjects, and are replete with valuable suggestions as well as progressive ideas, extending through the gamut of economic thought. They stamp him as a man of broad views, one whose honesty, temerity, and activity in human affairs for the good of all make him worthy of the confidence and support or every right-thinking citizen.

IMPOSSIBLE TO OVERESTIMATE THE AMOUNT OF GOOD ACCOMPLISHED THROUGH ORGANIZED LABOR.

It must always be a peculiar privilege for any thoughtful public man to address a body of men predominantly composed of wage-workers, for the foundation of our whole social structure rests upon the material and moral well-being, the intelligence, the foresight, the sanity, the sense of duty, and the wholesome patriotism of the wage-worker. This is doubly the case now, for in addition to each man's individual action you have learned the great lesson of acting in combination. It would be impossible to overestimate the far-reaching influences of and, on the whole, the amount of good done through your associations. * * * In our cities, or where men congregate in masses, it is often necessary to work in combination—that is, through associations—and here it is that we can see the great good conferred by labor organizations, by trade unions. (Speech on September 3, 1900, at the Chicago Labor Day picnic.)

NECESSITY FOR LABOR UNIONS.

The most vital problem with which this country, and for that matter the whole civilized world, has to deal is the problem which has for one side the betterment of social conditions, moral and physical, in large cities, and for another side the effort to deal with that tangle of far-reaching questions which we group together when we speak of "labor." The chief factor in the success of each man—wage-worker, farmer, and capitalist alike—must ever be the sum total of his own individual qualities and abilities. Second only to this comes the power of acting in combination or association with others. Very great good has been and will be accomplished by associations or unions of wage-workers, when managed with forethought and when they combine insistence upon their own rights with law-abiding respect for the rights of others. The display of these qualities in such bodies is a duty to the nation no less than to the associations themselves. Finally, there must also be, in many cases, action by the Government in order to safeguard the rights and interests of all. Under our Constitution there is much more scope for such action by the State and municipality than by the nation. But on points such as those touched on above the National Government can act. (Message to the Fifty-seventh Congress, in 1901.)

MUCH CAN BE DONE BY TRADE UNIONS AND SIMILAR ORGANIZATIONS.

Before us loom industrial problems, vast in their importance and their complexity. The last half century has been one of extraordinary social and industrial development. The changes have been far-reaching, some of them for good and some of them for evil. It is not given to the wisest of us to see into the future with absolute clearness. No man can be certain that he has found the entire solution of this infinitely great and intricate problem, and yet each man of us, if he would do his duty, must strive manfully, so far as in him lies, to help bring about that solution.

It is not as yet possible to say what shall be the exact limit of influence allowed the State or what limit shall be set to that right of individual initiative so dear to the hearts of the American people. All we can say is that the need has been shown on the one hand for action by the people in their collective capacity through the State in many matters; that in other matters much can be done by associations of different groups of individuals, as in trade unions and similar organizations, and that in other matters it remains now as true as ever that final success will be for the man who trusts in the struggle only to his cool head, his brave heart, and his strong right arm. These are spheres in which a comparatively free field must be given to individual initiative. (Chicago Labor Day Speech, September 3, 1900.)

VITAL IMPORTANCE OF ASSOCIATION.

The more a healthy American sees of one's fellow-Americans the greater grows his conviction that our chief troubles come from mutual misunderstanding—from failure to appreciate one another's point of view. In other words, the great need is fellow-feeling—sympathy, brotherhood—and all this mutually comes by association. It is therefore of vital importance that there should be such association. (At Chicago Labor Day picnic, Sept. 3, 1900.)

MEN SHOULD STRIVE FOR THEIR BETTERMENT AND STAND FOR THEIR RIGHTS.

Many qualities are needed in order that we can contribute our mite toward the upward movement of the world—the quality of self-abnegation, and yet combined with it the quality which will refuse to submit to injustice. I want to preach the two qualities going hand in hand. I do not want a man to fail to try to strive for his own betterment; I do not want him to be quick to yield to injustice, but I want him to stand for his rights. (Address before the Railroad Branch of the Young Men's Christian Association at Topeka, Kans., May 1, 1903.)

ELEVATION OF LABOR.

Bills have come to me this winter that were not what I wanted them to be, but I felt that they were steps in the right direction and I approved them. I found out, and you must find out, that if you are going to accomplish things you must yield something of your own wishes to the wishes of others, else you will get nowhere. Take the labor law for instance. That had much that was crude in it and many things that were good. I believe we should, as fast as we can, elevate labor. Don't applaud what is a self-evident fact, gentlemen. Everybody believes that we should help our fellow-men, and I have tried to find out since I have been in public life how our fellow-countrymen could best be helped. I have found that there is a kind of help which is no help at all and some which offers a temporary benefit. But, because the labor law contained some bad features along with its good ones, should I have vetoed it? That bill in its basis is all right. (Address to the City Club, New York City, May 9, 1899.)

RAILROAD MEN MAKE GOOD SOLDIERS AND CITIZENS.

All kinds of honorable work entitle those following them to honor. For the last few weeks and for the next few every minute and every hour my safety depends upon how the railroad men do their work. Naturally, I take a peculiar interest in them. But we must take the same interest in all men who do their work well. If a man does his duty he is a good citizen and we should be proud of him. Just let me say one word especially to the railroad men. I recollect the last time I ever met General Sherman he told me that if he had to raise an army composed purely of one class he would take railroad men, because they developed four or five qualities that counted more than anything else—qualities of taking risks, of irregular hours (so that to be up at night does not strike them with horror), of accepting responsibility, and yet of obeying orders and of obeying them at once, not wondering whether to turn the switch then or later, but turning it then, and in consequence the men have had that training which will make good soldiers, and when you make a really good soldier you will make a good citizen. We can not all be railroad men, but we can all be good citizens and show the same type of quality. (Address at Truckee, Cal., May 19, 1903.)

RAILROAD EMPLOYEES POSSESS CHARACTER AND QUALITIES OF COURAGE AND HARDIHOOD.

In our present advanced civilization we have to pay certain penalties for what we have obtained. Among the penalties is the fact that in very many occupations there is so little demand upon nerve, hardihood, and endurance that there is a tendency to unhealthy softening of fiber and relaxation of fiber, and such being the case I think it is a fortunate thing for our people as a whole that there should be certain occupations, prominent among them railroading, in which the man has to show the very qualities of courage, of hardihood, of willingness to face danger, the cultivation of the power of instantaneous decision under difficulties, and the other qualities which go to make up the virile side of a man's character. * * *

I greet this audience, this great body of delegates, with peculiar pleasure, because they are men who embody, and embody by the very fact of their presence here, the essential sets of qualities of which I have been speaking. They embody the capacity for self-help with the desire mutually to help one the other. You have got several qualities I like. You have got sound bodies. Your profession is not one that can be carried on, at least in some of its branches very favorably without the sound body. You have got sound minds, and that is better than sound bodies, and, finally, the fact that you are here, the fact that you have done what you have done, shows that you

have that which counts for more than body, for more than mind—character. Character—that is what tells in the long run, character—which is compounded of many different qualities; in the first place perseverance, resolution, refusal to be daunted. (Address before the railroad branch of the Young Men's Christian Association at Topeka, Kans., May 1, 1903.)

PROTECTION TO THE AMERICAN WORKINGMAN IN HIS STANDARD OF WAGES AND LIVING.

The one consideration which never must be omitted in a tariff change is the imperative need of preserving the American standard of living for the American workingman. The tariff rate must never fall below that which will protect the American workingman by allowing for the difference between the general labor cost here and abroad, so as to at least equalize the conditions arising from the difference in the standard of labor here and abroad, a difference which it should be our aim to foster, in so far as it represents the needs of better educated, better paid, better fed, and better clothed workingmen of a higher type than any to be found in a foreign country.

At all hazards, and no matter what else is sought for or accomplished by changes of the tariff, the American workingman must be protected in his standard of wages—that is, in his standard of living—and must be secured the fullest opportunity of employment. Our laws should in no event afford advantage to foreign industries over American industries. They should in no event do less than equalize the differences in conditions at home and abroad. The general tariff policy to which, without regard to changes in detail, I believe this country to be irrevocably committed is fundamentally based upon ample recognition of the difference in labor cost here and abroad; in other words, the recognition of the need for full development of the intelligence, the comfort, the high standard of civilized living, and the inventive genius of the American workingman as compared to the workingman of any other country in the world. (Address at Logansport, Ind., September 23, 1902.)

INCREASED PROSPERITY OF THE WORKINGMAN AND THE FARMER.

In speaking on Labor Day at the annual fair of the New York State Agricultural Association it is natural to keep especially in mind the two bodies who compose the majority of our people and upon whose welfare depends the welfare of the entire State. If circumstances are such that thrift, energy, industry, and forethought enable the farmer—the tiller of the soil—on the one hand and the wage-worker on the other to keep themselves, their wives, and their children in reasonable comfort, then the State is well off, and we can be assured that the other classes in the community will likewise prosper. On the other hand, if there is in the long run a lack in prosperity among the two classes named, then all other prosperity is sure to be more seeming than real.

It has been our profound good fortune as a nation that hitherto, disregarding exceptional periods of depression and the normal and inevitable fluctuations, there has been on the whole from the beginning of our Government to the present day a progressive betterment alike in the condition of the tiller of the soil and in the condition of the man who by his manual skill and labor supports himself and his family and endeavors to bring up his children so they may be at least as well off as and if possible better off than he himself has been. There are, of course, exceptions; but as a whole the standard of living among the farmers of our country has risen from generation to generation, and the wealth represented on the farms has steadily increased, while the wages of labor have likewise risen, both as regards the actual money paid and as regards the purchasing power which that money represents.

Side by side with this increase in the prosperity of the wage-worker and the tiller of the soil has gone on a great increase in the prosperity among the business men and among certain classes of professional men, and the prosperity of these men has been partly the cause and partly the consequence of the prosperity of farmer and wage-worker. It can not be too often repeated that in this country, in the long run, we all of us tend to go up or go down together. If the average of well-being is high, it means that the average wage-worker, the average farmer, and the average business man are all alike well off. If the average shrinks, there is not one of these classes which will not feel the shrinkage.

Of course there are always some men who are not affected by good times, just as there are some men who are not affected by bad times; but speaking broadly, it is

true that if prosperity comes all of us tend to share more or less therein, and that if adversity comes each of us, to a greater or less extent, feels the tension. Unfortunately, in this world the innocent frequently find themselves obliged to pay some of the penalty for the misdeeds of the guilty, and, so, if hard times come, whether they be due to our own fault or to our misfortune, whether they be due to some burst of speculative frenzy that has caused a portion of the business world to lose its head—a loss which no legislation can possibly supply—or whether they be due to any lack of wisdom in a portion of the world of labor, in each case the trouble, once started, is felt more or less in every walk of life. (Labor Day speech at Syracuse, N. Y., September 7, 1903.)

CARRYING AMERICAN GOODS IN AMERICAN-BUILT SHIPS.

Shipping lines, if established to the principal countries with which we have dealings, would be of political as well as commercial benefit. From every standpoint it is unwise for the United States to continue to rely upon the ships of competing nations for the distribution of our goods. It should be made advantageous to carry American goods in American-built ships. (Message to Congress, December 3, 1901.)

AMERICAN WAGE-WORKERS TAKE KEEN PRIDE IN THEIR WORK AND WISH TO TURN OUT A PERFECT JOB.

American wage-workers work with their heads as well as their hands. Moreover, they take a keen pride in what they are doing, so that, independent of the reward, they wish to turn out a perfect job. This is the great secret of our success in competition with the labor of foreign countries. (Message to Congress, December 3, 1901.)

MAKING THE EIGHT-HOUR LAW OPERATIVE.

This bill carries out the recommendation made in my message to the legislature that the eight-hour law should be so amended as to make it effective. It will work on the whole an undoubted improvement. * * * The need of the passage of this law is evident. There is at present and has long been on the statute books an eight-hour law, but it is so easy of evasion that it has been largely inoperative. It is always detrimental to the best interests of the State to have a law on the statute books which pretends to do something and does not do it, and this of course is especially the case where it is highly important that the nominal end sought to be attained really should be attained. The general tendency toward an eight-hour working day has undoubtedly been healthful. * * * The permission to work overtime for additional compensation has resulted in such widespread evasion and nullification of the purposes of the law, especially among contractors, that it is wise to take it away in most cases. (Memorandum filed May 12, 1899, with approved assembly bill regulating labor hours on public work in New York State.)

WISE LABOR LEGISLATION IS OF MORE REAL BENEFIT TO THE COMMUNITY THAN ANY OTHER KIND OF LAW.

On no subject is it more important to have wise and sound legislation than where the interests of labor are concerned. When such legislation is good it probably accomplishes more real benefit to the community than can be accomplished by any other kind of law, but crude and hasty labor legislation either wholly fails to accomplish anything—being so drawn as to be ineffective—or else works harm instead of good to the very people supposed to be benefited. (Message to New York assembly, April 3, 1899.)

LEGISLATION TO SHIELD THE INTEREST OF WAGE-WORKERS.

It is not only highly desirable, but necessary, that there should be legislation which shall carefully shield the interests of wage-workers and which shall discriminate in favor of the honest and humane employer by removing the disadvantage under which he stands when compared with unscrupulous competitors who have no conscience and will do right only under fear of punishment. (Address on "National Duties" at Minnesota State Fair, Minneapolis, September 2, 1901.)

AS MUCH THE STATE'S DUTY TO PROTECT THE WEAKER WAGE-WORKERS FROM OPPRESSION AS TO PROTECT HELPLESS INVESTORS FROM FRAUD.

During the past year very valuable labor measures have been enacted into laws, and they are well enforced. * * * Additional legislation will undoubtedly from time to time become necessary, but many vitally needed laws have already been put upon the statute books. As experience shows their defects these will be remedied. A stringent eight-hour labor law has been enacted. This is working well as a whole. In nothing do we need to exercise cooler judgment than in labor legislation. Such legislation is absolutely necessary, alike from the humanitarian and the industrial standpoints, and it is as much our duty to protect the weaker wage-workers from oppression as to protect helpless investors from fraud. (Annual message to the New York legislature January 3, 1900.)

LABOR LAWS HAVE WORKED WELL.

How far we shall go in regulating the hours of labor or the liabilities of employers is a matter of expediency, and each case must be determined on its own merits, exactly as it is a matter of expediency to determine what so-called "public utilities" the community shall itself own and what ones it shall leave to private or corporate ownership, securing to itself merely the right to regulate. Sometimes one course is expedient, sometimes the other. In my own State during the last half dozen years we have made a number of notable strides in labor legislation, and with a very few exceptions the laws have worked well. (Chicago Labor Day address, September 3, 1900.)

EFFECTIVE LEGISLATION AGAINST SWEAT SHOPS.

The Costello bill does not go as far as I should like to see it go, but it does not take an enormous stride in advance, representing the first really effective bit of legislation against the sweat shops which has been enacted in this State. It is in line with and to a large extent carries out one of the suggestions in my message to the legislature upon which I dwelt with particular emphasis. (Message to the New York assembly, April 3, 1899.)

The factory-inspection department of New York deals chiefly, of course, with conditions in great cities. One very important phase of its work during the last two years has been the enforcement of the anti-sweat-shop law, which is primarily designed to do away with the tenement-house factory. The conditions of life in some of the congested tenement-house districts, notably in New York City, had become such as to demand action by the State. As with other reforms, in order to make it stable and permanent it had to be gradual. It proceeded by evolution, not revolution. But progress has been steady, and wherever needed it has been radical. Much remains to be done, but the condition of the dwellers in the congested districts has been markedly improved, to the great benefit not only of themselves but of the whole community. (Address at Chicago Labor Day picnic, September 3, 1900.)

EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY.

The liability of employers to their employees is now recognized in the laws of most of the great industrial communities of the world. While employers ought not to be burdened to such an extent as to endanger ordinary business transactions, yet the State should, so far as possible, protect those employees engaged in dangerous occupations, and should see that every reasonable provision is taken to guard their rights. (Annual message to the New York legislature, January 3, 1900.)

CHEAPNESS SECURED UNDER THE PADRONE SYSTEM IS OBTAINED AT THE SACRIFICE OF GOOD CITIZENSHIP.

It is even more important to reach contractors who do the State work than to reach the public servants of the State proper. Cheapness secured by the employment of gangs of men under the padrone system is cheapness for which the State pays altogether too dearly, for it is obtained at the cost of the sacrifice of good citizenship. It is therefore just that the ordinary employee of the State and of contractors who

do State work should work for but eight hours and should receive a rate of wages not less than that paid for other labor of the same kind where the structure is to be put up, this not interfering with the purchase of a finished product. (Memorandum filed May 12, 1899, with approved assembly bill regulating hours of labor on public work in New York State.)

THE STATE'S LABOR DEPARTMENTS SHOULD RECEIVE PROMPT AND CORDIAL COOPERATION IN EVERY ATTEMPT TO FULFILL THEIR RESPECTIVE DUTIES.

The bureau of labor statistics, the board of mediation and arbitration, and the factory inspectors' department must be brought to the highest standard of efficiency and usefulness. The work of these departments—to report the actual conditions of labor, to seek to establish harmonious relations between labor and capital, and to enforce such labor legislation as have met with the approval of the people of the State—is of supreme importance. The efficiency of their service concerns not only those immediately affected, but also the entire public, and they should receive our prompt and cordial co-operation in every attempt to fulfill their respective duties. (Annual message to the New York legislature, January 2, 1899.)

LABOR STATISTICS OF VITAL CONCERN TO ALL LEADING LABOR INTERESTS.

The bureau of labor statistics in collecting the material for its reports has received valuable aid from manufacturers and officers of labor organizations. The reports of the department must be practical, strictly accurate in all statements of fact, and based on investigations conducted in accordance with modern scientific methods. (Message to the New York Legislature, January 2, 1899.)

The experiment of publishing a quarterly bulletin by the bureau of labor statistics has worked excellently, and the bulletin should be continued and improved. (Message to the New York legislature, January 3, 1900.)

The bureau of labor statistics (of New York) has done more than merely gather the statistics, for by keeping in close touch with all the leading labor interests it has kept them informed on countless matters that were really of vital concern to them. Incidentally one pleasing feature of the work of this bureau has been the steady upward tendency shown during the last four years, both in amount of wages received and in the quantity and steadiness of employment. (Chicago Labor Day speech, September 3, 1900.)

STATE CONTROL OF EMPLOYMENT OFFICES.

Abuses have occurred in connection with the employment offices in the larger cities, which are now allowed to violate the law with impunity, the power of punishment lying with the local authorities. It would be well to require the keeper of any employment office to procure a license from the State, as in Minnesota and other States. This license should be granted on the payment of a substantial fee, and the business would thus be restricted to responsible parties and kept under the control of the State administration. (Annual message to the New York legislature, January 3, 1900.)

STATE OWNERSHIP OF PRINTING PLANT.

It may well be considered by you whether by the passage of an act establishing a State printing bureau, equipped with every modern device, the cost to the State of its printing might not be reduced. This item has become a large one in the State expenditure, and a trial of State ownership, if found to be economical, I would advise. (Message to the New York legislature, January 3, 1900.)

THE STATE SHOULD BE AN EXEMPLARY EMPLOYER.

It is wise for the State to set a good example as an employer of labor, both as to the number of hours of labor exacted and as to paying a just and reasonable wage. (Memorandum filed on May 12, 1899, with approved bill regulating working hours on public work in New York State.)

In new York * * * we determined that as an employer of labor the State should set a good example to other employers. We do not permit the people's money

to be squandered or to tolerate any work that is not the best. But we think that while rigidly insisting upon good work we should see that there is fair play in return. Accordingly we have adopted an eight-hour law for the State employees and for all contractors who do State work, and we have also adopted a law requiring that the fair market rate of wages shall be given. I am glad to say that both measures have so far, on the whole, worked well. * * * The practical experiment of working men for eight hours has been advantageous to the State. Poor work is always dear, whether poorly paid or not, and good work is always well worth having, and as a mere question of expediency, aside, even, from the question of humanity, we find that we can obtain the best work by paying fair wages and permitting the work to go only for a reasonable time. (Address at the Chicago Labor Day picnic, September 3, 1900.)

FREE MECHANICS MUST NOT BE BROUGHT INTO COMPETITION WITH PRISON LABOR.

A recent decision of the court of appeals has decided unconstitutional the law which provides that there shall be a mark on prison-made goods indicating that they are such. This matter should receive the attention of the legislature in order that some means may be devised whereby the free mechanic shall not be brought into competition with prison labor. (Annual message to the New York legislature, January 2, 1899.)

IN LABOR DISPUTES MEDIATION IS PREFERABLE TO ARBITRATION.

In various trades the relations between labor and capital have frequently been adjusted to the advantage of both by conferences between intelligent employers and reasonable workingmen. Such mutual understanding is in the highest degree desirable. It promotes industrial peace and general prosperity. Where disturbance exists, and before it has gone too far, the board of mediation and arbitration should seek to secure a fair settlement of the difficulties and a reestablishment of harmonious relations. It should also constantly endeavor to promote the extension of intelligent methods of settlement of labor disputes, so that, through the recognition by each party of the just rights of the other, strikes and lockouts may yield to wiser and more peaceful measures. (Message to the New York legislature, January 2, 1899.)

The work of mediation—that is, of settling the dispute before it has reached an acute stage—is even more important and successful than that of arbitration proper, after the strike is once on. This being so, it would be well to enact legislation which would compel parties to labor disputes to notify the board [of mediation and arbitration] of impending trouble or of strikes and lockouts. (Message to New York legislature, January 3, 1900.)

Where possible, it is always better to mediate before the strike begins than to try to arbitrate when the fight is on and both sides have grown stubborn and bitter. (Labor Day speech on September 3, 1900, at Chicago.)

ANTHRACITE COAL STRIKE COMMISSION ANXIOUS TO SEE RIGHT AND JUSTICE PREVAIL.

Our complex industrial civilization has not only been productive of much benefit, but has also brought us face to face with many puzzling problems—problems that are puzzling partly because there are men that are wicked, partly because there are good men who are foolish or shortsighted. There are many such to-day—the problems of labor and capital, the problems which we group together rather vaguely when we speak of the problems of the trusts, the problems affecting the farmers on the one hand, the railroads on the other. It would not be possible in any one place to deal with the particular shapes which these problems take at that time and in that place. And yet there are certain general rules which can be laid down for dealing with all of them, and those rules are the immutable rules of justice, of sanity, of courage, of common sense.

Six months ago it fell to my lot to appoint a commission to investigate into and conclude about matters connected with the great and menacing strike in the anthracite coal fields of Pennsylvania. On that Commission I appointed representatives of the church, of the bench, of the Army, representatives of the capitalists of the region, and a representative of organized labor. They published a report, which was not only of the utmost moment because of dealing with the great and vital problem with

which they were appointed to deal, but also in its conclusion initiating certain general rules in so clear and masterful a fashion that I wish most earnestly it could receive the broadest circulation as a tract wherever there exists or threatens to exist trouble in any way akin to that with which those commissioners dealt. All of them unanimously signed that report—all of them, as American citizens, anxious to see right and justice prevail. (Address at Omaha, Nebr., April 27, 1903.)

A GET-TOGETHER POLICY WILL TEND TO SOLVE INDUSTRIAL AND OTHER PROBLEMS.

Capital and wage-worker alike should honestly endeavor each to look at any matter from the other's standpoint, with a freedom on the one hand from the contemptible arrogance which looks upon the man of less means, and on the other from the no less contemptible envy, jealousy, and rancor which hates another because he is better off. Each quality is the complement of the other, the supplement of the other, and in point of baseness there is not the weight of a finger to choose between them. Look at the report signed by the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission, look at it in the spirit in which they wrote it, and if you can only make yourselves, make the community, approach the problems of the day in the spirit that those men, your fellows, showed in approaching the great problem of yesterday, any problem or problems will be solved. (Address at Omaha, Nebr., April 27, 1903.)

I have a great deal of faith in the average American citizen. I think he is a pretty good fellow, and I think he can generally get on with the other average American citizen if he will only know it. If he does not know it, but makes him a monster in his mind, then he will not get on with him. But if he will take the trouble to know him and realize that he is a being just like himself, with the same instincts, not all of them good, the same desire to overcome those that are not good, the same purposes, the same tendencies and shortcomings, the same desires for good, the same need of striving against evil; if he will realize all that, and if you can get the two together, with an honest desire each to try not only to help himself, but to help the other, most all our problems will be solved. (Speech at Topeka, Kans., May 1, 1903.)

TO HAVE THE SAME INTERESTS, NEEDS, AND ASPIRATIONS EVERY AMERICAN SHOULD UNDERSTAND AND WORK WITH HIS FELLOW-CITIZENS.

The first time I ever labored alongside of and got thrown into intimate companionship with men who were mighty men of their hand was in the cattle country of the Northwest. I soon grew to have an immense liking and respect for my associates, and as I knew them, and did not know similar workers in other parts of the country, it seemed to me then the ranch owner was a great deal better than any eastern business man, and that the cow puncher stood on a corresponding altitude compared to any of his brethren in the East.

Well, after a little while I got thrown into close relations with the farmers, and it did not take long before I had moved them up alongside of my beloved cowmen, and made up my mind that they really formed the backbone of the land. Then, because of certain circumstances, I was thrown into intimate contact with railroad men, and I gradually came to the conclusion that these railroad men were about the finest citizens there were anywhere around. Then, in the course of some official work, I was thrown into close contact with a number of the carpenters, blacksmiths, and men in the building trades—that is, skilled mechanics of a high order—and it was not long before I had them on the same pedestal with the others.

By that time it began to dawn on me that the difference was not in the men, but in my own point of view, and that if any man is thrown into close contact with any large body of our fellow-citizens it is apt to be the man's own fault if he does not grow to feel for them a very hearty regard and, moreover, grow to understand that on the great questions that lie at the root of human well-being he and they feel alike.

Our prime need as a nation is that every American should understand and work with his fellow-citizens, getting into touch with them, so that by actual contact he may learn that fundamentally he and they have the same interests, needs, and aspirations. (Labor Day address at Chicago, September 3, 1900.)

THE MASS OF AMERICANS DO NOT WANT CHARITY, BUT DESIRE TO HOLD THEIR OWN IN THE WORLD.

It ought not to be necessary for me to warn you against mere sentimentality, against the philanthropy and charity which are not merely insufficient, but harmful. It is eminently desirable that we should none of us be hard-hearted, but it is no less desirable that we should not be soft-headed. I really do not know which quality is most productive of evil to mankind in the long run, hardness of heart or softness of head. Naked charity is not what we permanently want. There are, of course, certain classes, such as young children, widows with large families, or crippled or very aged people, or even strong men temporarily crushed by stunning misfortune, on whose behalf we may have to make a frank and direct appeal to charity, and who can be the recipients of it without any loss of self-respect. But taking us as a whole, taking the mass of Americans, we do not want charity, we do not want sentimentality, we merely want to learn how to act both individually and together in such fashion as to enable us to hold our own in the world, to do good to others according to the measure of our opportunities, and to receive good from others in ways which will not entail on our part any loss of self-respect. (Address before the Young Men's Christian Association, Carnegie Hall, New York City, December 30, 1900.)

NO ROOM FOR THE WILLFULLY IDLE.

Throughout our history the success of the home-maker has been but another name for the upbuilding of the nation. The men who with ax in the forests and pick in the mountains and plow on the prairies pushed to completion the dominion of our people over the American wilderness have given the definite shape to our nation. They have shown the qualities of daring, endurance, and far-sightedness, of eager desire for victory and stubborn refusal to accept defeat, which go to make up the essential manliness of the American character. Above all, they have recognized in practical form the fundamental law of success in American life, the law of worthy work, the law of high, resolute endeavor. We have but little room among our people for the timid, the irresolute, and the idle; and it is no less true that there is scant room in the world at large for the nation with mighty thews that dares not to be great.

Sometimes we hear those who do not work spoken of with envy. Surely the willfully idle need arouse in the breast of a healthy man no emotion stronger than that of contempt, at the outside no emotion stronger than angry contempt. The feeling of envy would have in it an admission of inferiority on our part, to which the men who know not the sterner joys of life are not entitled. Poverty is a bitter thing, but it is not as bitter as the existence of restless vacuity and physical, moral, and intellectual flabbiness, to which those doom themselves who elect to spend all their years in that vainest of all vain pursuits—the pursuit of mere pleasure as a sufficient end in itself. The work may be done in a thousand different ways, with the brain or with the hands, in the study, the field, or the workshop. If it is honest work, honestly done and well worth doing, that is all we have a right to ask. (Address at Minneapolis, September 2, 1901.)

A POUND OF CONSTRUCTION IS WORTH A TON OF DESTRUCTION.

It ought to be no less unnecessary to say that any man who tries to solve the great problems that confront us by an appeal to anger and passion, to ignorance and folly, to malice and envy, is not, and never can be, aught but an enemy of the very people he professes to befriend. In the words of Lowell, it is far safer to adopt "all men up" than "some men down" for a motto. Speaking broadly, we can not, in the long run, benefit one man by the downfall of another. Our energies can, as a rule, be employed to more better advantage in uplifting some than in pulling down others. Of course there must sometimes be pulling down, too. We have no business to blink at evils, and where it is necessary that the knife should be used, let it be used unsparingly, but let it be used intelligently. When there is need of a drastic remedy, apply it, but do not apply it in the mere spirit of hate. Normally, a pound of construction is worth a ton of destruction. (Address to the Young Men's Christian Association, in New York City, December 30, 1900.)

SPURN THE LEADERSHIP OF THOSE WHO SEEK TO EXCITE CLASS ANTAGONISM.

People show themselves just as unfit for liberty whether they submit to anarchy or to tyranny, and class government whether it be the government of a plutocracy or the government of a mob, is equally incompatible with the principles established in the days of Washington and perpetuated in the days of Lincoln. * * *

The reason why our future is assured lies in the fact that our people are genuinely skilled in and fitted for self-government, and therefore will spurn the leadership of those who seek to excite this ferocious and foolish class antagonism. The average American knows not only that he himself intends to do about what is right, but that his average fellow-countryman has the same intention and the same power to make his intention effective. He knows, whether he be business man, professional man, farmer, mechanic, employer, or wage-worker, that the welfare of each of these men is bound up with the welfare of all the others, that each neighbor to the other is actuated by the same hopes and fears, has fundamentally the same ideals, and that all alike have much the same virtues and the same faults.

OUR AVERAGE FELLOW-CITIZEN

is a sane and healthy man who believes in decency and has a wholesome mind. He therefore feels an equal scorn alike for the man of wealth guilty of the mean and base spirit of arrogance toward those who are less well off, and for the man of small means who in his turn either feels or seeks to excite in others the feeling of mean and base envy for those who are better off. The two feelings, envy and arrogance, are but opposite sides of the same shield, but different developments of the same spirit. Fundamentally, the unscrupulous rich man who seeks to exploit and oppress those who are less well off is in spirit not opposed to, but identical with, the unscrupulous poor man who desires to plunder and oppress those who are better off. The courtier and the demagogue are but developments of the same type under different conditions, each manifesting the same servile spirit, the same desire to rise by pandering to base passions, though one panders to power in the shape of a single man and the other to power in the shape of a multitude. So likewise the man who wishes to rise by wronging others must by right be contrasted, not with the man who likewise wishes to do wrong, though to a different set of people, but with the man who wishes to do justice to all people and to wrong none.

The line of cleavage between good and bad citizenship lies not between the man of wealth who acts squarely by his fellows and the man who seeks each day's wage by that day's work, wronging no one and doing his duty to his neighbor; nor yet does this line of cleavage divide the unscrupulous wealthy man who exploits others in his own interests from the demagogue or from the sullen and envious being who wishes to attack all men of property, whether they do well or ill. On the contrary, the line of cleavage between good citizenship and bad citizenship separates the rich man who does well from the rich man who does ill, the poor man of good conduct from the poor man of bad conduct. This line of cleavage lies at right angles to any such arbitrary line of division as that separating one class from another, one locality from another, or men with a certain degree of property from those of a less degree of property.

The good citizen is the man who, whatever his wealth or his poverty, strives manfully to do his duty to himself, to his family, to his neighbor, to the State; who is incapable of the baseness which manifests itself either in arrogance or in envy, but who while demanding justice for himself is no less scrupulous to do justice to others. It is because the average American citizen, rich or poor, is of just this type that we have cause for our profound faith in the future of the Republic.

Ours is a government of liberty, by, through, and under the law. Lawlessness and connivance at lawbreaking, whether the lawbreaking take the form of a crime of greed and cunning or of a crime of violence, are destructive not only of order, but of the true liberties which can only come through order. If alive to their true interests, rich and poor alike will set their faces like flint against the spirit which seeks personal advantage by overriding the laws, without regard to whether this spirit shows itself in the form of bodily violence by one set of men or in the form of vulpine cunning by another set of men. (Speech at New York State Fair, at Syracuse, on Labor Day, September 7, 1903.)

ONE LAW ONLY, ALIKE FOR THE RICH AND THE POOR.

Let the watchwords of all our people be the old familiar watchwords of honesty, decency, fair dealing, and common sense. The qualities denoted by these words are essential to all of us, as we deal with the complex industrial problems of to-day, the problems affecting not merely the accumulation but even more, the wise distribution of wealth. We ask no man's permission when we require him to obey the law, neither the permission of the poor man nor yet of the rich man. Least of all can the man of great wealth afford to break the law, even for his own financial advantage, for the law is his prop and support, and it is both foolish and profoundly unpatriotic for him to fail in giving hearty support to those who show that there is in very fact one law and one law only, alike for the rich and the poor, for the great and the small.

Men sincerely interested in the due protection of property and men sincerely interested in seeing that the just rights of labor are guaranteed, should alike remember not only that in the long run neither the capitalist nor the wage-worker can be helped in healthy fashion save by helping the other, but also that to require either side to obey the law and do its full duty toward the community is emphatically to that side's real interest.

There is no worse enemy of the wage-worker than the man who condones mob violence in any shape, or who preaches class hatred, and surely the slightest acquaintance with our industrial history should teach even the most short sighted that the times of most suffering for our people as a whole, the times when business is stagnant and capital suffers from shrinkage and gets no return from its investments are exactly the times of hardship and want and grim disaster among the poor. If all the existing instrumentalities of wealth could be abolished, the first and severest suffering would come among those of us who are least well off at present. The wage-worker is well off only when the rest of the country is well off, and he can best contribute to his general well-being by showing sanity and a firm purpose to do justice to others.

In his turn the capitalist, who is really a conservative, the man who has forethought as well as patriotism, should heartily welcome every effort, legislative or otherwise, which has for its object to secure fair dealing by capital, corporate or individual toward the public and toward the employee. Such laws as the franchise-tax law in this State, which the court of appeals recently unanimously decided constitutional—such a law as that passed by Congress last year for the purpose of establishing a Department of Commerce and Labor, under which there should be a bureau to oversee and secure publicity from the great corporations which do an interstate business—such a law as that passed at the same time for the regulation of the great highways of commerce, so as to keep these roads clear on fair terms to all producers in getting their goods to market—these laws are in the interest not merely of the people as a whole, but of the propertied classes. For in no way is the stability of property better assured than by making it patent to our people that property bears its proper share of the burdens of the State, that property is handled not only in the interest of the owner, but in the interest of the whole community.

In other words, legislation to be permanently good for any class must also be good for the nation as a whole, and legislation which does injustice to any class is certain to work harm to the nation. (Labor Day address at New York State Fair, in Syracuse, September 7, 1903.)

CORPORATIONS ARE BENEFITED WHEN REQUIRED TO OBEY THE LAW.

Every man who has made wealth or used it in developing great legitimate business enterprises has been of benefit and not harm to the country at large. This city has grown by leaps and bounds only when the railroads came to it, when the railroads came to the State, and if the State were now cut off from its connection by rail and by steamship with the rest of the world its position would, of course, diminish incalculably. Great good has come from the development of our railroad system, great good has been done by the individuals and corporations that have made that development possible, and in return good has been done to them, and not harm, when they are required to obey the law. (Address at Spokane, Wash., May 27, 1903.)

OPENS ARMORIES FOR THE RECEPTION OF HOMELESS PEOPLE IN NEW YORK CITY DURING THE BLIZZARD OF 1899.

Before I make my formal speech I ask your permission to say one thing. Since coming to New York this afternoon there has been very vividly brought home to me, what perhaps all of you have realized the last two or three days, the terrible distress this unprecedented weather is causing, and, although I can not say I had exactly warrant in law for what I have done, yet I trust that the senator will see that the legislature supports me. I have directed the commander of the State Guard, Major-General Roe, to throw open five of the armories, those of the Eighth, Ninth, Twelfth, Sixty-ninth, and Seventy-first Regiments, which were in the parts of the city where we thought the greatest distress could with most celerity be relieved, to throw open those five armories for the reception of destitute and houseless people. And the general has notified police headquarters to instruct all the precinct commanders that the armories were open, so that in case there is not elsewhere accommodation for those without homes in this bitter weather they can find shelter there. (Response to the toast "The State of New York," at the Lincoln Club dinner, in New York City, February 13, 1899.)

FARMER AND WAGE EARNER.

In speaking on Labor Day at the annual fair of the New York State Agricultural Association, it is natural to keep especially in mind the two bodies who compose the majority of our people and upon whose welfare depends the welfare of the entire State. If circumstances are such that thrift, energy, industry, and forethought enable the farmer, the tiller of the soil, on the one hand, and the wage-worker, on the other, to keep themselves, their wives, and their children in reasonable comfort, then the State is well off, and we can be assured that the other classes in the community will likewise prosper. On the other hand, if there is in the long run a lack of prosperity among the two classes named, then all other prosperity is sure to be more seeming than real. (Address of President Roosevelt at the State fair, Syracuse, N. Y., September 7, 1903, Labor Day.)

INCREASE OF WEALTH AND COMFORT IN THE UNITED STATES.

It has been our profound good fortune as a nation that hitherto, disregarding exceptional periods of depression and the normal and inevitable fluctuations, there has been on the whole from the beginning of our Government to the present day a progressive betterment, alike in the condition of the tiller of the soil and in the condition of the man who, by his manual skill and labor, supports himself and his family, and endeavors to bring up his children so that they may be at least as well off as, and if possible better off than, he himself has been. There are, of course, exceptions, but as a whole the standard of living among the farmers of our country has risen from generation to generation, and the wealth represented on the farms has steadily increased, while the wages of labor have likewise risen, both as regards the actual money paid and as regards the purchasing power which that money represents.

Side by side with this increase in the prosperity of the wage-worker and the tiller of the soil has gone on a great increase in the prosperity among the business men and among certain classes of professional men, and the prosperity of these men has been partly the cause and partly the consequence of the prosperity of farmer and wage-worker. It can not be too often repeated that in this country in the long run we all of us tend to go up or go down together.

If the average of well-being is high, it means that the average wage-worker, the average farmer, and the average business man are all alike well off. If the average shrinks, there is not one of these classes which will not feel the shrinkage. Of course there are always some men who are not affected by good times, just as there are some men who are not affected by bad times.

But speaking broadly, it is true that if prosperity comes all of us tend to share more or less therein, and that if adversity comes, each of us, to a greater or less extent, feels the tension. Unfortunately, in this world the innocent frequently find themselves obliged to pay some of the penalty for the misdeeds of the guilty, and so if hard times come, whether they be due to our own fault or to our misfortune, whether they be due to some burst of speculative frenzy that has caused a portion of the business world to lose its head—a loss which no legislation can possibly supply—or whether they be due to any lack of wisdom in a portion of the world of labor, in each case the trouble once started is felt more or less in every walk of life.

THE GOOD OF ONE IS THE GOOD OF ALL.

It is all-essential to the continuance of our healthy national life that we should recognize this community of interest among our people. The welfare of each of us is dependent fundamentally upon the welfare of all of us, and therefore in public life that man is the best representative of each of us who seeks to do good to each by doing good to all; in other words, whose endeavor it is, not to represent any special class and promote merely that class's selfish interests, but to represent all true and honest men of all sections and all classes and to work for their interests by working for our common country.

We can keep our Government on a sane and healthy basis, we can make and keep our social system what it should be, only on condition of judging each man, not as a member of a class, but on his worth as a man. It is an infamous thing in our American life, and fundamentally treacherous to our institutions, to apply to any man any test save that of his personal worth, or to draw between two sets of men any distinction save the distinction of conduct, the distinction that marks off those who do well and wisely from those who do ill and foolishly. There are good citizens and bad citizens in every class as in every locality, and the attitude of decent people toward great public and social questions should be determined, not by the accidental questions of employment or locality, but by those deep-set principles which represent the innermost souls of men.

The failure in public and in private life thus to treat each man on his own merits, the recognition of this Government as being either for the poor as such or for the rich as such, would prove fatal to our Republic, as such failure and such recognition have always proved fatal in the past to other republics. A healthy republican government must rest upon individuals, not upon classes or sections. As soon as it becomes government by a class or by a section it departs from the old American ideal.

DANGER OF CLASS GOVERNMENT.

It is, of course, the merest truism to say that free institutions are of avail only to people who possess the high and peculiar characteristics needed to take advantage of such institutions. The century that has just closed has witnessed many and lamentable instances in which people have seized a government free in form, or have had it bestowed upon them, and yet have permitted it under the forms of liberty to become some species of despotism or anarchy, because they did not have in them the power to make this seeming liberty one of deed instead of one merely of word.

Under such circumstances the seeming liberty may be supplanted by a tyranny or despotism in the first place, or it may reach the road of despotism by the path of license and anarchy. It matters but little which road is taken. In either case the same goal is reached. People show themselves just as unfit for liberty whether they submit to anarchy or to tyranny and class government, whether it be the government of a plutocracy or the government of a mob, is equally incompatible with the principles established in the days of Washington and perpetuated in the days of Lincoln.

Many qualities are needed by a people which would preserve the power of self-government in fact as well as in name. Among these qualities are forethought, shrewdness, self-restraint, the courage which refuses to abandon one's own rights, and the disinterested and kindly good sense which enables one to do justice to the rights of others. Lack of strength and lack of courage unfit men for self-government on the one hand, and on the other brutal arrogance, envy, in short, any manifestation of the spirit of selfish disregard, whether of one's own duties or of the rights of others, are equally fatal.

In the history of mankind many republics have risen, have flourished for a less or greater time, and then have fallen because their citizens lost the power of governing themselves and thereby of governing their state; and in no way has this loss of power been so often and so clearly shown as in the tendency to turn the government into a government primarily for the benefit of one class instead of a government for the benefit of the people as a whole.

Again and again in the republics of ancient Greece, in those of mediæval Italy and mediæval Flanders, this tendency was shown, and wherever the tendency became a habit it invariably and inevitably proved fatal to the state. In the final result it mattered not one whit whether the movement was in favor of one class or of another. The outcome was equally fatal, whether the country fell into the hands of a wealthy oligarchy which exploited the poor or whether it fell under the domination of a turbulent mob which plundered the rich.

In both cases there resulted violent alternations between tyranny and disorder, and a final complete loss of liberty to all citizens—destruction in the end overtaking the class which had for the moment been victorious, as well as that which had momentarily been defeated. The death knell of the Republic had rung as soon as the active power became lodged in the hands of those who sought, not to do justice to all citizens, rich and poor alike, but to stand for one special class and for its interests as opposed to the interests of others.

AMERICAN IDEALS OF JUSTICE.

The reason why our future is assured lies in the fact that our people are genuinely skilled in and fitted for self-government, and therefore will spurn the leadership of those who seek to excite this ferocious and foolish class antagonism. The average American knows not only that he himself intends to do about what is right, but that his average fellow-countryman has the same intention and the same power to make his intention effective. He knows, whether he be business man, professional man, farmer, mechanic, employer, or wage-worker, that the welfare of each of these men is bound up with the welfare of all the others; that each is neighbor to the other, is actuated by the same hopes and fears, has fundamentally the same ideals, and that all alike have much the same virtues and the same faults.

Our average fellow-citizen is a sane and healthy man, who believes in decency and has a wholesome mind. He therefore feels an equal scorn alike for the man of wealth guilty of the mean and base spirit of arrogance toward those who are less well off and for the man of small means who in his turn either feels or seeks to excite in others the feeling of mean and base envy for those who are better off. The two feelings—envy and arrogance—are but opposite sides of the same shield, but different developments of the same spirit. Fundamentally, the unscrupulous rich man who seeks to exploit and oppress those who are less well off is in spirit not opposed to but identical with the unscrupulous poor man who desires to plunder and oppress those who are better off.

The courtier and the demagogue are but developments of the same type under different conditions, each manifesting the same servile spirit, the same desire to rise by pandering to base passions, though one panders to power in the shape of a single man and the other to power in the shape of a multitude. So likewise the man who wishes to rise by wronging others must by right be contrasted, not with the man who likewise wishes to do wrong, though to a different set of people, but with the man who wishes to do justice to all people and to wrong none.

GOOD AND BAD CITIZENS.

The line of cleavage between good and bad citizenship lies, not between the man of wealth who acts squarely by his fellows and the man who seeks each day's wage by that day's work, wronging no one and doing his duty by his neighbor; nor yet does this line of cleavage divide the unscrupulous wealthy man, who exploits others in his own interest, from the demagogue, or from the sullen and envious being who wishes to attack all men of property, whether they do well or ill. On the contrary, the line of cleavage between good citizenship and bad citizenship separates the rich man who does well from the rich man who does ill, the poor man of good conduct from the poor man of bad conduct. This line of cleavage lies at right angles to any such arbitrary line of division as that separating one class from another, one locality from another, or men with a certain degree of property from those of a less degree of property.

The good citizen is the man who, whatever his wealth or his poverty, strives manfully to do his duty to himself, to his family, to his neighbor, to the State; who is incapable of the baseness which manifests itself either in arrogance or in envy, but who while demanding justice for himself is no less scrupulous to do justice to others. It is because the average American citizen, rich or poor, is of just this type that we have cause for our profound faith in the future of the Republic.

Ours is a government of liberty by, through, and under the law. Lawlessness and connivance at lawbreaking—whether the lawbreaking take the form of a crime of greed and cunning or of a crime of violence—are destructive not only of order, but of the true liberties which can only come through order. If alive to their true interests, rich and poor alike will set their faces like flint against the spirit which seeks personal advantage by overriding the laws, without regard to whether this spirit shows itself in the form of bodily violence by one set of men or in the form of vulpine cunning by another set of men.

Let the watchwords of all our people be the old familiar watchwords of honesty, decency, fair dealing, and common sense. The qualities denoted by these words are essential to all of us as we deal with the complex industrial problems of to-day, the problems affecting not merely the accumulation but even more the wise distribution of wealth. We ask no man's permission when we require him to obey the law, neither the permission of the poor man nor yet of the rich man. Least of all can the man of great wealth afford to break the law, even for his own financial advantage, for the law is his prop and support, and it is both foolish and profoundly unpatriotic for him to fail in giving hearty support to those who show that there is in very fact one law, and one law only alike for the rich and the poor, for the great and the small.

MUTUAL INTERESTS OF CAPITAL AND LABOR.

Men sincerely interested in the due protection of property, and men sincerely interested in seeing that the just rights of labor are guaranteed, should alike remember not only that in the long run neither the capitalist nor the wage-worker can be helped in healthy fashion save by helping the other; but also that to require either side to obey the law and do its full duty toward the community is emphatically to that side's real interest.

There is no worse enemy of the wage-worker than the man who condones mob violence in any shape or who preaches class hatred; and surely the slightest acquaintance with our industrial history should teach even the most short-sighted that the times of most suffering for our people as a whole, the times when business is stagnant, and capital suffers from shrinkage and gets no return from its investments, are exactly the times of hardship, and want, and grim disaster among the poor. If all the existing instrumentalities of wealth could be abolished, the first and severest suffering would come among those of us who are least well off at present. The wage-worker is well off only when the rest of the country is well off and he can best contribute to this general well-being by showing sanity and a firm purpose to do justice to others.

In his turn the capitalist who is really a conservative, the man who has forethought as well as patriotism, should heartily welcome every effort, legislative or otherwise, which has for its object to secure fair dealing by capital, corporate or individual, toward the public and toward the employee. Such laws as the franchise-tax law in this State, which the court of appeals recently unanimously decided constitutional—such a law as that passed in Congress last year for the purpose of establishing a Department of Commerce and Labor, under which there should be a bureau to oversee and secure publicity from the great corporations which do an interstate business—such a law as that passed at the same time for the regulation of the great highways of commerce so as to keep these roads clear on fair terms to all producers in getting their goods to market—these laws are in the interest not merely of the people as a whole, but of the propertied classes. For in no way is the stability of property better assured than by making it patent to our people that property bears its proper share of the burdens of the state; that property is handled not only in the interest of the owner, but in the interest of the whole community.

WELFARE OF ALL THE CRITERION OF CLASS LEGISLATION.

In other words, legislation to be permanently good for any class must also be good for the nation as a whole, and legislation which does injustice to any class is certain to work harm to the nation. Take our currency system for example. This nation is on a gold basis. The Treasury of the public is in excellent condition. Never before has the per capita of circulation been as large as it is this day; and this circulation, moreover, is of money every dollar of which is at par with gold. Now, our having this sound currency system is of benefit to banks, of course, but it is of infinitely more benefit to the people as a whole, because of the healthy effect on business conditions.

In the same way, whatever is advisable in the way of remedial or corrective currency legislation—and nothing revolutionary is advisable under present conditions—must be undertaken only from the standpoint of the business community as a whole; that is, of the American body politic as a whole. Whatever is done, we can not afford to take any step backward or to cast any doubt upon the certain redemption in standard coin of every circulating note.

Among ourselves we differ in many qualities, of body, head, and heart; we are unequally developed, mentally as well as physically. But each of us has the right to ask that he shall be protected from wrongdoing as he does his work and carries his burden through life. No man needs sympathy because he has to work, because he has

a burden to carry. Far and away the best prize that life offers is the chance to work hard at work worth doing, and this is a prize open to every man, for there can be no work better worth doing than that done to keep in health and comfort and with reasonable advantages those immediately dependent upon the husband, the father, or the son.

NO ROOM FOR THE IDLER.

There is no room in our healthy American life for the mere idler, for the man or the woman whose object it is throughout life to shirk the duties which life ought to bring. Life can mean nothing worth meaning unless its prime aim is the doing of duty, the achievement of results worth achieving. A recent writer has finely said: "After all, the saddest thing that can happen to a man is to carry no burdens. To be bent under too great a load is bad; to be crushed by it is lamentable; but even in that there are possibilities that are glorious. But to carry no load at all—there is nothing in that. No one seems to arrive at any goal really worth reaching in this world who does not come to it heavy laden."

Surely from our own experience each one of us knows that this is true. From the greatest to the smallest, happiness and usefulness are largely found in the same soul, and the joy of life is won in its deepest and truest sense only by those who have not shirked life's burdens. The men whom we most delight to honor in all this land are those who, in the iron years from 1861 to 1865, bore on their shoulders the burden of saving the Union. They did not choose the easy task. They did not shirk the difficult duty. Deliberately and of their own free will they strove for an ideal, upward and onward across the stony slopes of greatness. They did the hardest work that was then to be done; they bore the heaviest burden that any generation of Americans ever had to bear; and because they did this they have won such proud joy as it has fallen to the lot of no other men to win, and have written their names forever more on the golden honor roll of the nation.

As it is with the soldier, so it is with the civilian. To win success in the business world, to become a first-class mechanic, a successful farmer, an able lawyer or doctor means that the man has devoted his best energy and power through long years to the achievement of his ends. So it is in the life of the family, upon which in the last analysis the whole welfare of the nation rests. The man or woman who as bread winner and home maker, or as wife and mother, has done all that he or she can do, patiently and uncomplainingly, is to be honored and is to be envied by all those who have never had the good fortune to feel the need and duty of doing such work.

The woman who has borne, and who has reared as they should be reared, a family of children has in the most emphatic manner deserved well of the Republic. Her burden has been heavy, and she has been able to bear it worthily only by the possession of resolution, of good sense, of conscience, and of usefulness. But if she has borne it well, then to her shall come the supreme blessing, for in the words of the oldest and greatest of books, "Her children shall rise up and call her blessed;" and among the benefactors of the land her place must be with those who have done the best and the hardest work, whether as lawgivers or as soldiers, whether in public or in private life.

THE SECRET OF AMERICAN SUCCESS.

This is not a soft and easy creed to preach. It is a creed willingly learned only by men and women who, together with the softer virtues, possess also the stronger; who can do, and dare, and die at need, but who, while life lasts, will never flinch from their allotted task. You farmers and wage-workers and business men of this great State, of this mighty and wonderful nation, are gathered together to-day, proud of your State and still prouder of your nation, because your forefathers and predecessors have lived up to just this creed.

You have received from their hands a great inheritance, and you will leave an even greater inheritance to your children and your children's children, provided only that you practice alike in your private and your public lives the strong virtues that have given us as a people greatness in the past. It is not enough to be well-meaning and kindly, but weak; neither is it enough to be strong, unless morality and decency go hand in hand with strength.

We must possess the qualities which make us do our duty in our homes and among our neighbors, and in addition we must possess the qualities which are indispensable to the make-up of every great and masterful nation—the qualities of courage and hardihood, of individual initiative and yet of power to combine for a common end,

and above all, the resolute determination to permit no man and no set of men to sunder us one from the other by lines of caste or creed or section. We must act upon the motto of all for each and each for all. There must be ever present in our minds the fundamental truth that in a republic such as ours the only safety is to stand neither for nor against any man because he is rich or because he is poor, because he is engaged in one occupation or another, because he works with his brains or because he works with his hands.

We must treat each man on his worth and merits as a man. We must see that each is given a square deal, because he is entitled to no more and should receive no less. Finally we must keep ever in mind that a republic such as ours can exist only in virtue of the orderly liberty which comes through the equal domination of law over all men alike, and through its administration in such resolute and fearless fashion as shall teach all that no man is above it and no man below it.

CANDIDATES.

Mr. Chairman, the subject of the record of the forthcoming candidates, whoever they may be, on the two great tickets of the country for President touching the labor question will be very important and will attract great attention during the campaign. I therefore have no hesitation in placing in the Record as a part of my speech and with my entire approval the record of our candidate for the Presidency upon this most important topic. There is no question in my mind but that above all others Theodore Roosevelt will loom up as the special friend of labor and the laboring man. He may not have fulminated from the bench the platitudes that have been placed in the Record coming from one of the candidates, but he has done things, and the man who does something these times is the most important of them all. I point with great pleasure to the record of Theodore Roosevelt in this behalf. I challenge criticism. I challenge disapproval. I call for approval by the American people. I also point to the record of the Republican party upon other questions.

SLAVERY.

The great revolution which exalted labor and freed the country from the curse of slavery was accomplished by the Republican party, against the fiercest opposition possible by the combined forces of the Democrats and their allies. Still true to its original ideals of freedom, the Republican party, after a lapse of forty years since the emancipation proclamation of Lincoln, abolished slavery in the Philippine Islands. (Act passed by a Republican Senate and Republican House and signed by President Roosevelt July 1, 1902.)

INVOLUNTARY SERVITUDE OF FOREIGNERS.

In 1874 the Forty-third Congress, which was Republican in both Houses, prohibited under heavy penalties the holding to involuntary services of any person forcibly kidnaped in any other country.

PEONAGE.

The act abolishing this kind of forced labor was passed by the Thirty-ninth Congress, when both Houses were Republican by a large majority, March 2, 1867.

THE COOLIE TRADE.

The legislation prohibiting the coolie trade is the work of the Republicans. The original law was passed by the Thirty-seventh Congress and approved February 19, 1862, amended February 9, 1869, by the Fortieth Congress, and further amended March 3, 1875, to provide for its enforcement, as recommended by President Grant in his message of December 7, 1874. When Hawaii became a Territory of the United States a Republican Congress abolished the existing system of coolie contract labor. (Act passed by the Fifty-sixth Congress and signed by President McKinley April 30, 1900.)

IMMIGRATION.

The Republican party has favored the American standard of living, not only by abolishing compulsory labor, but also by excluding the products of the cheapest foreign labor through protective tariffs and by restricting the immigration of unassimilable elements from other races. The act of 1875 closed our doors to the paupers and criminals of Europe, and the exclusion act of 1882 stopped the immigration of the Chinese. Upon the annexation of Hawaii in 1898 the immigration of Chinese thereto was prohibited by a Republican Congress, as was the migration of those already in Hawaii from the islands to continental United States. In President Roosevelt's Administration the Chinese-exclusion laws have been extended to the entire island territory of the United States. (Act passed by the Fifty-seventh Congress and approved April 29, 1902.)

The importation of foreign laborers under contract was first prohibited in 1885, but, owing to defective provisions for enforcing the law, continued almost unchecked until the amendments made in President Harrison's Administration (Acts of the Fifty-first Congress, which was Republican in both branches, and of the Fifty-second Congress, signed March 3, 1891, and March 3, 1893, respectively.)

The Republican party has increased the restrictions upon the immigration of cheap foreign labor in the new law of 1903. (Act passed by the Fifty-seventh Congress, both Houses being controlled by the Republicans, and signed by President Roosevelt March 3, 1903.)

CONVICT LABOR.

The law abolishing the contract system of labor for United States convicts passed the House March 9, 1886, and the Senate February 28, 1887. All the votes against the bill were Democratic.

The law providing for the construction of new United States prisons and the employment of convicts therein exclusively in the manufacture of such supplies for the Government as can be made without the use of machinery was passed by the Fifty-first Congress, which was Republican in both branches, and signed by President Harrison. (Chapter 529 of the acts of 1890-91.)

The importation of goods made by convicts in foreign countries was prohibited in the Fifty-third Congress, but it remained for a Republican Congress to direct the Secretary of the Treasury to make regulations for the law's enforcement. (Act passed by the Fifty-fifth Congress and signed by President McKinley July 24, 1897.)

SAFETY OF WORKMEN.

PROTECTION OF SEAMEN.

This was accomplished by the Forty-second Congress, when both Houses were Republican, and the Forty-third Congress, also Republican.

INSPECTION OF STEAM VESSELS.

Accomplished by the Fortieth Congress, which was controlled by the Republicans.

INSPECTION OF COAL MINES IN THE TERRITORIES.

Provided for by the Fifty-first Congress, both houses being under the control of the Republicans; approved by President Harrison.

SAFETY APPLIANCES ON RAILWAYS.

The original act providing for automatic couplers and power brakes on locomotives and cars used in interstate traffic was passed by the Fifty-second Congress, and signed

by President Harrison March 2, 1893. Owing to decisions of the courts, new legislation became necessary, and the Fifty-seventh Congress (Republican) passed a greatly improved law, which was signed by President Roosevelt March 2, 1903.

ACCIDENTS TO BE REPORTED.

The Fifty-sixth Congress (Republican) passed a law requiring common carriers to make monthly reports of accidents to the Interstate Commerce Commission. (Approved by President McKinley March 3, 1901.)

THE EIGHT-HOUR LAW.

The first eight-hour law in this country was enacted by the Fortieth Congress and approved by President Grant in 1868. It applied to all artisans and laborers employed by the Government:

In the Fiftieth Congress (1888) the eight-hour day was established for letter carriers. The bill passed the Senate, which was Republican, without division.

In President Harrison's Administration the eight-hour law was extended to include persons employed by contractors on public works. (Chap. 352 of the acts of 1892.)

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR.

The act creating the United States Bureau of Labor was passed by the Forty-eighth Congress (1884) and signed by President Arthur. In the Fiftieth Congress (1888) the Bureau was removed from the Department of the Interior and made an independent Department of Labor, all the votes cast against the bill being Democratic. In 1903 a Republican Congress established the Department of Commerce and Labor and made its head a cabinet officer.

BOARDS OF ARBITRATION.

Act passed at the Fifty-fifth Congress (Republican) and signed by President McKinley June 1, 1898.

INCORPORATION OF NATIONAL TRADES UNIONS.

Provided for by act of Congress in 1886, without division in either House.

LABOR LEGISLATION IN REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC STATES.

There is no better way of judging the merits of a political party than by the laws which are passed by the legislators who are elected to office from its ranks. With regard to legislation for the protection of the workers, much remains to be done before they receive their full measure of protection and justice; but, as can be shown by the statistics of the different States, nearly all protective labor legislation in the United States was first enacted by Republican States and then adopted by way of imitation by the Democratic States. At the present time the proportion of Republican States having protective labor legislation is much greater than that of Democratic States. This is plainly shown in the tables.

LABOR BUREAUS.

There are few agencies which have done more toward giving a clear insight into the problems of labor and capital, that have brought employer and employee nearer together, that have furnished the laboring people with facts for arguments in favor of protective legislation, than bureaus of labor and labor statistics. The table shows that at present there are 33 State labor bureaus in the United States. Of these, 23 are in Republican States and 10 are in Democratic States. Reducing these figures to a proportionate basis, we find that 23 out of 28 Republican States, or 82 per cent., have labor bureaus; 10 out of 17 Democratic States, or 59 per cent., have labor bureaus.

FACTORY-INSPECTION SERVICE.

It is well known to all working people that protective labor laws are practically a dead letter in any State unless there is a factory-inspection service organized for the purpose of searching out and bringing to justice persons who violate such laws. It is easy enough to enact protective legislation, but it is another thing to enforce it. If a State, therefore, enacts such laws and fails to organize a service for their enforcement, it is betraying those whom it pretends to favor. Let us again observe the tables: We find that twenty-one out of twenty-eight Republican States, or 75 per cent., have established factory-inspection services. We also find that three out of seventeen Democratic States, or 18 per cent., have factory-inspection services. In examining the other subjects of labor legislation which follow we must not lose sight of the fact that only three of the Democratic States have factory-inspection services organized for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of the labor laws which will be under consideration.

INSPECTION OF MINES.

Public inspection of mines is required on the same grounds as inspection of factories. The tables show that fifteen of the twenty-eight Republican States and nine of the seventeen Democratic States have established this service.

CHILD LABOR IN FACTORIES.

Ever since the introduction of the factory system, over a century ago, the greatest sufferers from the greed of inconsiderate and cruel employers have been the helpless children, who often at a tender age are placed in factories and are ruined physically, morally, and mentally by their work, their surroundings, and their loss of opportunity for education. It is a principle recognized in all civilized countries that children under 12 years of age should not be employed in factories, and in nearly all European countries laws have been passed placing a limit of 12 or 14 years upon such child labor. In our country thirty-one out of the forty-five States prohibit the employment of children under 12 years of age from working in factories. Of these thirty-one States twenty-one are Republican and ten are Democratic. In other words, 68 per cent. of all the Republican States and only 32 per cent. of the Democratic States have laws prohibiting children under 12 years of age from working in factories.

CHILD LABOR IN MINES.

Twenty-four States prohibit the employment of children under 12 years of age in mines. Of these, sixteen are Republican and eight are Democratic States.

WOMAN LABOR.

Next to children, the greatest victims of abuse by greedy employers when unrestrained by law are women. Investigations have shown that their condition is sometimes pitiful where employers are given free scope in their employment. Their protection in the interest of humanity and morals has also been the subject of legislation in nearly all civilized countries. In the United States, twenty-seven States have legislated upon this subject. Of these twenty-seven States, twenty-two are Republican and five are Democratic! Reducing these figures to a proportionate basis, we find that 82 per cent. of the Republican States and only 19 per cent. of the Democratic States have laws regulating woman labor.

SEATS FOR FEMALES IN SHOPS.

Legislation on this subject needs no comment. Any man who has a daughter or sister employed in a shop or store, and every physician, knows what a hardship it is to a woman to be compelled to stand all day at a bench or behind a counter. Fortunately, in thirty-one States legislation has been enacted requiring employers to pro-

vide seats for females. Of these thirty-one States, twenty-three are Republican and eight are Democratic.

SWEAT-SHOP LEGISLATION.

There is no greater menace to the health of the working people, and nothing which tends more to lower and degrade human beings, than to crowd them together in small, filthy workshops, where they are often compelled to work, eat and sleep without regard to health or morals, and where the hours of labor are often so long that the victims, who are usually foreigners unacquainted with our language, are shut out from all opportunities for education or betterment of any kind. The scenes observed in these shops by official investigators have been revolting beyond description. Long ago efforts were made to regulate these so-called "sweat shops," and twelve States have enacted laws looking to this end. Of these twelve States, eleven are Republican and one is Democratic. Nothing more need be said on this point.

TRUCK SYSTEM.

This legislation prohibits employers from paying their employees in scrip or orders on their company stores and which are not redeemable in cash. At present twenty-three States have such laws in force, of which fourteen are Republican and nine are Democratic, or 61 per cent. of all the Republican and 39 per cent. of all the Democratic States.

MEDIATION AND ARBITRATION.

State boards of mediation and arbitration have been established in fifteen States to aid in the adjustment of industrial disputes. Of the fifteen boards eleven are in Republican States and only four in Democratic States.

FREE EMPLOYMENT BUREAUS.

One of the great needs of wage-workers who are engaged for only a week or a day at a time is some agency that will assist them in obtaining a situation when they are out of work. Private agencies have so frequently exploited their poverty by extorting registration fees for situations that are never procured, that churches and charitable societies now support free employment agencies in many leading cities. A few years ago State and municipal governments also entered the field and now there are public employment bureaus (free) in fourteen States, of which twelve are Republican and only two Democratic.

EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY LAWS.

Since the introduction of steam and machinery workmen are exposed to such great risks of death and injury that enlightened States have enacted legislation which requires employers to furnish safe work places and appliances, and makes them responsible, in damages, for any injury that may befall an employee through their negligence. Twenty-seven States now have employers' liability laws, most of them relating to railways. Of the twenty-seven States fifteen were Republican and twelve Democratic in the last National election.

EIGHT-HOUR LAW.

For many years labor organizations have been endeavoring to secure legislation prohibiting labor on Government works or public contracts for over eight hours per day. They have succeeded thus far in securing such legislation in twenty-one of the forty-five States of the Union. Of these twenty-one States, sixteen are Republican and five are Democratic. In other words, of the twenty-eight Republican States, 60 per cent. have enacted the eight-hour law, and of the seventeen Democratic States only five, or 29 per cent., have yielded to the demands of the labor organizations in this regard.

LABOR LEGISLATION IN REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC STATES COMPARED.

In Republican States.

States having laws in force January, 1904.	Bureau of labor.	Inspection of factories.	State boards of arbitration.	Free employment bureau.	Inspection of mines.	Employer's liability laws.	Eight-hour laws.	Child-labor age limit in—		Women's work regulated.	Seats for women.	Truck system prohibited.	Sweating system regulated.
								Factories.	Mines.				
California	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	No.	No.	Yes.	Yes.	12 years	.....	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	No.
Connecticut	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	No.	Yes.	Yes.	14 years	.....	Yes.	Yes.	No.	Yes.
Delaware	No.	Yes.	No.	No.	No.	No.	Yes.	.....	.....	Yes.	Yes.	No.	No.
Illinois	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	No.	Yes.	14 years	14 years	No.	Yes.	(a)	Yes.
Indiana	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	No.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	14 years	14 years	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.
Iowa	Yes.	Yes.	No.	No.	Yes.	Yes.	No.	.....	12 years	No.	Yes.	Yes.	No.
Kansas	Yes.	Yes.	No.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	.....	12 years	No.	Yes.	Yes.	No.
Maine	Yes.	Yes.	No.	No.	Yes.	No.	No.	12 years	.....	Yes.	No.	No.	No.
Maryland	Yes.	No.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	a 14 y'rs.	12 years	Yes.	Yes.	(b)	(b)
Massachusetts	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	No.	No.	Yes.	No.	14 years	.....	Yes.	No.	Yes.	Yes.
Michigan	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	No.	Yes.	No.	No.	14 years	.....	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.
Minnesota	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	No.	Yes.	Yes.	14 years	14 years	Yes.	Yes.	No.	No.
Nebraska	Yes.	Yes.	No.	Yes.	No.	No.	Yes.	10 years	.....	Yes.	Yes.	No.	No.
N. Hampshire	Yes.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	12 years	.....	Yes.	Yes.	No.	No.
New Jersey	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	No.	No.	No.	14 years	14 years	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.
New York	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	14 years	.....	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.
North Dakota	Yes.	No.	No.	No.	No.	Yes.	No.	12 years	12 years	Yes.	No.	No.	No.
Ohio	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	14 years	15 years	Yes.	Yes.	(b)	Yes.
Oregon	Yes.	Yes.	No.	No.	No.	Yes.	No.	14 years	14 years	Yes.	No.	No.	No.
Pennsylvania	Yes.	Yes.	No.	No.	Yes.	No.	Yes.	13 years	16 years	Yes.	Yes.	(b)	Yes.
Rhode Island	Yes.	Yes.	No.	No.	No.	Yes.	No.	12 years	.....	Yes.	Yes.	No.	No.
South Dakota	No.	No.	No.	No.	Yes.	No.	No.	.....	14 years	Yes.	No.	No.	No.
Utah	Yes.	No.	Yes.	No.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	.....	14 years	Yes.	No.	No.	No.
Vermont	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	10 years	.....	Yes.	No.	Yes.	No.
Washington	Yes.	Yes.	No.	Yes.	Yes.	No.	Yes.	14 years	14 years	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	No.
West Virginia	Yes.	Yes.	No.	Yes.	Yes.	No.	Yes.	12 years	12 years	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	No.
Wisconsin	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	No.	Yes.	Yes.	14 years	14 years	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.
Wyoming	No.	No.	No.	No.	Yes.	No.	Yes.	.....	14 years	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	No.
Total, 28 States.	23	21	11	12	15	15	16	21	16	22	23	14	11

a City of Baltimore.

b Held to be unconstitutional.

Democratic States.

States having laws in force January 1904.	Bureau of labor.	Inspection of factories.	State boards of arbitration.	Free employment bureau.	Inspection of mines.	Employer's liability laws.	Eight-hour laws.	Child-labor age limit in—		Women's work regulated.	Seats for women.	Truck system prohibited.	Sweating system regulated.
								Factories.	Mines.				
Alabama	No.	No.	No.	No.	Yes.	Yes.	No.	12 years	12 years	No.	Yes.	No.	No.
Arkansas	No.	No.	No.	No.	Yes.	Yes.	No.	12 years	14 years	No.	No.	Yes.	No.
Colorado	Yes.	No.	Yes.	No.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	14 years	14 years	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	No.
Florida	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	Yes.	No.	.....	.....	No.	Yes.	No.	No.
Georgia	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	Yes.	No.	.....	.....	No.	Yes.	Yes.	No.
Idaho	Yes.	No.	Yes.	No.	Yes.	No.	Yes.	.....	14 years	No.	No.	No.	No.
Kentucky	Yes.	Yes.	No.	No.	Yes.	No.	No.	14 years	14 years	No.	No.	Yes.	No.
Louisiana	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	No.	No.	No.	No.	12 to 14 years.	.....	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	No.
Mississippi	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	Yes.	No.	.....	.....	No.	No.	No.	No.
Missouri	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	14 years	12 years	No.	No.	Yes.	Yes.
Montana	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	.....	14 years	No.	No.	Yes.	No.
Nevada	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	Yes.	.....	.....	No.	No.	No.	No.
North Carolina	Yes.	No.	No.	No.	Yes.	Yes.	No.	12 years	12 years	No.	No.	Yes.	No.
South Carolina	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	Yes.	No.	11 years	11 years	No.	Yes.	Yes.	No.
Tennessee	Yes.	Yes.	No.	No.	Yes.	No.	No.	14 years	14 years	No.	No.	Yes.	No.
Texas	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	Yes.	No.	.....	16 years	No.	No.	Yes.	No.
Virginia	Yes.	No.	No.	No.	No.	Yes.	No.	12 years	12 years	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	No.
Total, 17 States.	10	3	4	2	9	12	5	10	8	5	8	9	1

c After May 1, 1904; 12 years, May 1, 1905

WAGES IN THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPE.

Owing to the vastly superior resources of the United States and the wise legislation which has protected American industries and thereby maintained the American standard of living, wages in the United States are, on the average, about twice as high as in Europe. The following table shows the average daily wage in certain cities of Europe and America, according to statistics gathered by the United States Bureau of Labor:

Year.	Great Britain (27 quotations).	Paris, France (21 quotations).	Year.	Liege, Belgium (11 quotations).	United States (255 quotations).
1870.....	\$1.80	\$1.06	1870.....	\$0.695	\$2.20
1876.....	1.40	1.12	1876.....	.63	2.18
1886.....	1.89	1.26	1886.....	.68	2.47
1896.....	1.49	1.33	1896.....	.66	2.46
1902.....	1.45	1.34	1902.....	.65	2.50

The latest comparative statistics of wages are contained in an official report made by the statistical office of the board of trade, and published by order of Parliament in August, 1903. The data relate to years between 1895 and 1902 (mainly to years between 1898 and 1901) and pertain to fifteen skilled occupations in the chief city and other cities in the United States, Great Britain, France, and Germany, and the totals are as follows (corrected to a standard year):

The English report notes that a comparison of family earnings is less unfavorable to Europe owing to the fact that more women and children become wage-earners there than in America. On the basis of the investigation of the United States Department of Labor in 1891, covering the textile, iron and steel, coal, and glass industries, the Blue Book arrives at the following relative figures:

COMPARISON OF FAMILY INCOMES.

	Germany.	France.	Great Britain.	United States.
British income taken as 100.....	69	83	100	123
German income taken as 100.....	100	120	145	178

AVERAGE WEEKLY RATES FOR FIFTEEN SKILLED TRADES.

Country.	Chief cities and towns.	Other cities and towns.
	<i>s.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
United States.....	75= \$18.00	69 4= \$16.65
Great Britain and Ireland.....	42= 10.00	36 0= 8.65
France.....	36= 8.65	22 10= 5.50
Germany.....	24= 5.75	22 6= 5.40

It therefore appears that the average wage for the fifteen trades is nearly twice as high in New York as in London and more than twice as high as in Paris and three times as high as in Berlin. In the smaller cities the superiority of the United States is equally marked, as may be seen in the following comparison:

	Germany.	France.	Great Britain.	United States.
Capital cities.....	100	151	175	315
Other cities and towns.....	100	100	159	307

AVERAGE WEEKLY RATES OF WAGES CURRENT IN SOME RECENT YEARS, ADJUSTED, WHERE NECESSARY, TO MAKE FIGURES RELATE TO THE SAME STANDARD YEAR.

The fact that wages in the United States range three times as high as in Germany in the skilled trades is accompanied by similar evidence for unskilled labor. Thus the German Government reports on workmen's insurance against sickness and accident (a compulsory system conducted by the Government) showed that on January 1, 1902, the average daily wage of adult male laborers in the thirty-three large cities was only 67 cents, in fifty-eight small cities (places with a population of from 10,000 to 20,000 each) 52 cents, while in the agricultural districts it was 49 cents in the west and 33 cents in the east.

The figures for the fifteen skilled trades included in the official English report are given below with the American equivalents:

[Reduced to United States currency.]

Occupation.	In leading cities.				In other cities.			
	New York.	London.	Paris.	Berlin.	United States.	Great Britain.	France.	Germany.
Building trades:								
Carpenters.....	\$19.82	\$10.50	\$9.80	\$6.00	\$17.60	\$9.15	\$5.65	\$5.20
Masons.....	28.80	10.50	8.20	.....	20.35	9.37	5.19	6.61
Painters.....	20.94	8.75	8.30	.....	17.58	8.39	5.19	.....
Plasterers.....	25.78	12.80	.....	.....	21.00	9.39	5.23	6.61
Plumbers.....	22.33	10.34	8.64	.....	23.70	9.15	5.19	.....
Metal trades:								
Blacksmiths.....	15.00	9.12	9.50	5.02	18.00	8.61	5.78	5.11
Brass molders.....	18.00	8.64	.....	6.36	15.90	8.61	.....	4.79
Machinists (fitters).....	15.00	9.12	8.64	5.38	12.68	8.37	5.19	4.81
Machinists (turners).....	16.94	9.12	5.68	5.74	12.68	8.37	5.78	4.81
Pattern makers.....	18.00	10.08	10.52	5.02	16.50	8.65	5.43	5.05
Woodworking:								
Cabinetmakers.....	16.80	10.25	6.81	5.38	13.96	8.49	5.78	5.41
Coopers.....	17.38	10.08	7.60	5.54	12.62	8.61	4.71	5.44
Upholsterers.....	18.00	10.76	10.36	6.78	13.26	8.61	6.18	6.71
Printing:								
Compositors.....	19.00	9.12	8.06	6.36	13.50	7.71	5.78	5.51
Lithographers.....	25.00	9.60	9.84	6.46	20.46	8.13	7.02	5.67

The average family income was 23 per cent. larger than that in Great Britain, 48 per cent. larger than that in France, and 78 per cent. larger than that in Germany. But since 1891 wages have risen more rapidly than in France or England.

In the following series of tables wages in Europe and the United States are compared for each of the great branches of industry—agriculture, manufacturing, and transportation.

AGRICULTURE.

The following table shows that the wages of farm laborers in the Northern States of this country are fully 50 per cent. higher than in England. The low rates in the South bring down the average for the entire country considerably, thus:

Year.	England.			United States.						
	Average cash wages.		Average monthly earnings.	Average monthly wages, without board, in—						
	Per week.	Per month.		United States.	Eastern States.	Middle States.	Southern States.	Western States.	Mountain States.	Pacific States.
1875.....	s. d.	\$14.08	\$17.33	\$19.87	\$29.00	\$27.00	\$15.23	\$23.34	.....	\$49.98
1879.....	13 6½	13.80	17.05	16.42	21.36	20.24	12.65	19.81	.....	40.11
1885.....	13 3½	13.52	16.77	17.97	25.30	23.19	14.27	22.27	\$30.24	37.78
1890.....	13 ½	13.56	16.81	18.33	26.64	23.62	14.77	22.01	31.94	34.87
1895.....	13 2½	13.76	17.01	17.69	29.00	23.80	12.71	21.82	30.04	31.68
1898.....	13 8½	14.26	17.51	19.38	27.87	23.15	13.49	22.44	33.95	33.64
1899.....	13 11	14.47	17.72	20.23	23.76	23.91	13.80	23.75	35.15	35.69

SOURCES.

Sources.—The Ninth Annual Abstract of Labor Statistics (p. 66), published by the British labor department; Wages of Farm Labor in the United States, published by the United States Department of Agriculture.

The monthly earnings of English agricultural laborers is stated only for the year 1898; for the other years it has been computed by making the same allowance as in 1898. Wages in the United States are in currency, which in 1875 was at a discount (\$114.90 in currency=\$100 gold).

BUILDING TRADES—UNITED STATES, ENGLAND AND FRANCE.

WAGES AND HOURS IN PRINCIPAL BUILDING TRADES OF NEW YORK (MANHATTAN BOROUGH), LONDON, AND PARIS.

Occupation.	Rate of wages per hour in—			Weekly hours of labor in—		
	New York, 1903.	London, 1903.	Paris, 1900.	New York, 1903.	London, 1903.	Paris, 1901.
	<i>Cents.</i>	<i>Cents.</i>	<i>Cents.</i>			
Bricklayers.....	65	21	19	41	50	54
Carpenters.....	56¼	21	18	44	50	60
Painters.....	50	18	16	44	50	54
Plasterers.....	62½	22	20	44	50	60
Plumbers.....	55½	22	15	44	47	60
Stone masons.....	50	21	16	44	50	54
Masons' and plasterers' laborers.....	40½	14	10	44	50	60

London rates from the Ninth Annual Abstract of Labor Statistics, published by the British labor department; New York rates furnished by the New York State department of labor; Paris rates from *Bordereaux de Salaires* en 1900 et 1901, published by the French bureau of labor.

In some of the trades the rate here given is a standard recognized by associations of employers and workmen; in others it is only the prevalent rate.

MANUFACTURING.

Owing to fluctuations in employment and the varying proportion of women and child workers, the calculation of the average annual earnings of factory employees is always difficult. The following figures are mere estimates, but are derived from the most trustworthy sources and may be accepted as a reasonably close approximation to the actual relative compensation of factory operatives in the leading manufacturing countries.

AVERAGE YEARLY INCOME OF MEN, WOMEN, AND CHILDREN EMPLOYED IN MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES.

Country.	Inquiry.	Date.	Amount of employment in year.	Average annual earnings.
United States.....	Census.....	1900	Full time.....	\$438
Great Britain and Ireland.....	Wage census....	1885-86	.....do.....	230
France.....	.....do.....	1898	290 days.....	210
Germany.....	Insurance statistics.	1901	.....	201
Austria.....	.....do.....	1896	300 days.....	150

The method by which the American average wage is computed assumes that every employee worked steadily throughout the year, and is therefore slightly higher than it should be for comparative purposes, but in any event the average would remain near \$400, which is notably higher than that in any European country. The fact that the proportion of women and children employed in American factories (about 23 per cent.) is smaller than the proportion abroad also tends to exalt the American average, as it properly should. In the English wage statistics about 40 per cent. of the employees were women and children and in the French about 26 per cent.

The relative earnings of men, women, and children in American and British factories are shown separately below:

Country.		Men.	Women.	Lads and boys.	Girls.
Great Britain and Ireland.....	{ Weekly.....	\$5.95	\$8.10	\$2.20	\$1.54
United States, 52 weeks.....	{ 52 weeks.....	309.40	161.20	114.40	80.00
		490.00	273.03	152.22	.....

RATES OF WAGES IN NEW YORK AND LONDON IN CERTAIN TRADES AT END OF 1902.

[Sources: London, Ninth Annual Abstract of Labor Statistics; New York, Twentieth Annual Report of New York Bureau of Labor Statistics.]

	New York.	London.		New York.	London.
Iron and steel trades:			Printing:		
Boiler makers..	{ α \$2.80 β \$3.00 to 4.00	{ δ \$1.12 to \$1.92	Compositors—		
Blacksmiths....	3.50 to 4.50	1.56	Book and job..	3.16% $\frac{2}{3}$	1.56
Iron molders....	2.75 to 4.00	1.60	Weekly papers	3.16% $\frac{2}{3}$	1.56
Machinists.....	2.75 to 4.00	1.56	Daily Papers—		
Pattern makers.	3.50	1.72	Day	4.00	.....
Shipwrights....	3.50	1.68	Night	4.50	.....
Metals:			Furniture:		
Brass molders..	2.75 to 3.00	1.44	Cabinetmakers..	3.78	1.68
Brass finishers..	2.50 to 2.75	1.44	Upholsterers....	2.50 to 3.50	1.62 to 2.16

α Inside.

δ Outside.

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND—WEEKLY RATES OF WAGES, OCTOBER, 1886.

[From general report on the wages of manual labor classes in the United Kingdom, Parliamentary Blue Book C—6, 889, 1893, p. 476.]

Weekly rates.	Numbers.				Percentages.			
	Men.	Women.	Lads and boys.	Girls.	Men.	Women.	Lads and boys.	Girls.
Half-timers.....	.....	.....	9,581	13,238	.....	.....	11.9	27.2
Under 10s. (\$2.43).....	498	39,235	39,861	30,500	0.1	26	49.7	62.5
10s. to 15s. (\$2.43 to \$3.65).....	8,456	75,646	26,059	4,321	2.4	50	32.5	8.9
15s. to 20s. (\$3.65 to \$4.87).....	76,392	27,969	4,555	698	21.5	18.5	5.8	1.4
20s. to 25s. (\$4.87 to \$6.08).....	119,402	8,215	97	15	33.6	5.4	.1	.....
25s. to 30s. (\$6.08 to \$7.30).....	86,137	198	.....	.....	24.2	.1	.....	.....
30s. to 35s. (\$7.30 to \$8.52).....	41,121	.....	.....	.....	11.6	.....	.....	.....
35s. to 40s. (\$8.52 to \$9.73).....	15,120	.....	.....	.....	4.2	.....	.....	.....
Above 40s. (\$9.73).....	8,712	.....	.....	.....	2.4	.....	.....	.....
Total.....	355,888	151,263	80,253	43,772	100	100	100	100
Average.....	{ 21s. 9d. \$5.95	{ 12s. 11d. \$3.10	{ 9s. 2d. \$2.20	{ 6s. 5d. \$1.54	.....	.....	.....	.....

AVERAGE ANNUAL EARNINGS OF MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN EMPLOYED IN FACTORIES IN 1885.

Yearly earnings.	Number.	Proportion.
Of and above—		<i>Per cent.</i>
£70 (\$340.66).....	62,841	7.2
£60 to £70 (\$292 to \$340.66).....	67,320	8.8
£50 to £60 (\$243.33 to \$292).....	268,295	32.8
£40 to £50 (\$194.66 to \$243.33).....	67,813	8.2
Under £40 (\$194.66).....	349,832	43
Total.....	816,106	100

Average, £47 equals \$223.73.

FRANCE.

Wages, hours, etc., in Paris and suburbs in 1893.

[From Salaires et Durée du Travail dans l'Industrie Française, Vol. IV.]

Industry.	Average daily—		Average number of working days in the year.	Percentage of women and children in total working force.
	Hours of labor.	Wages.		
Food products.....	11	\$0.96	300	28
Chemical products.....	10 $\frac{3}{4}$	.91	321	20
Paper and rubber products.....	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	.86	295	33
Printing and publishing.....	10	.98	298	38
Hides and leather.....	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	.92	292	40
Textiles.....	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	.73	292	54
Clothing, millinery, etc.....	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	.83	280	56
Wood manufactures.....	10	1.24	298	4
Furniture.....	10	1.20	295	15
Iron and steel.....	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.16	290	5
Foundry and machine-shop products.....	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.23	277	5
Metal products, copper, etc.....	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.07	286	24
Gold, silver, etc.....	10	1.05	289	38
Stone working.....	10	1.66	293	15
Excavation and construction.....	9 $\frac{3}{4}$	1.22	253	1
Glass, brick, pottery.....	10 $\frac{1}{4}$	.82	297	31
Transportation, etc.....	9 $\frac{1}{4}$	1.08	.....	22
All industries.....	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	\$1.02	290	26
Outside of Paris.....	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	.68	290	26

BELGIUM.

Daily wage rates of adult workers employed in manufacturing and mechanical industries (including transportation) according to the industrial census of 1896.

Daily rates.	Men (over 16 years).	Women (over 16 years).	Daily rates.	Men (over 16 years).	Women (over 16 years).
Less than 20 cents.....	20,883	6,609	90 cents, but under \$1.00.....	21,134	80
20 cents, but under 30 cents.....	28,633	22,420	\$1.00, but under \$1.10.....	13,832	43
30 cents, but under 40 cents.....	62,195	21,349	\$1.10, but under \$1.20.....	5,776	10
40 cents, but under 50 cents.....	87,011	13,429	\$1.20, but under \$1.30.....	3,668	6
50 cents, but under 60 cents.....	100,367	5,362	\$1.30, but under \$1.40.....	1,653	3
60 cents, but under 70 cents.....	63,781	2,235	\$1.40 or more.....	4,557	9
70 cents, but under 80 cents.....	50,874	652			
80 cents, but under 90 cents.....		241	Total.....	467,511	74,661

GERMANY.

Average yearly earnings of workers employed in industrial establishments, according to the returns of employers to the government bureau for the insurance of workingmen.

Year.	Marks.	Dollars.	Year.	Marks.	Dollars.
1886.....	642	153	1898.....	733	174
1891.....	651	155	1899.....	751	179
1896.....	686	163	1900.....	778	185
1897.....	706	168	1901.....	804	191

RAILWAY LABOR.

The average yearly earnings of all railway employees in the United States, according to the Interstate Commerce Commission, have ranged between \$565 and \$370 in the last six or eight years. Reports from twenty-seven companies, employing more than 90 per cent. of all the railway men in Great Britain and Ireland, showed that in the first week of December, 1902, the average earnings were \$6, which would make the average yearly income not more than \$312. On the state railways of Prussia the average annual wages of the employees in the budget of 1898-99 were \$335, exclusive of shopmen and trackmen, whose earnings, being considerably smaller, would, if included, bring down this average. In France more than 80 per cent. of the railway employees receive less than \$1 per day, the average in fact being about 75 cents, which would make the annual earnings lie between \$230 and \$270, according to the number of working days.

In Prussia the locomotive engineers begin at \$286 a year and may attain \$523. In the United States engineers average \$3.78 a day and \$1,200 a year. Firemen—Prussia, from \$238 to \$357 a year; United States, \$2.16 a day and \$667 a year. Conductors—Prussia, from \$190 to \$286 a year; United States, \$3.17 a day and \$1,004 a year. In Prussia the railway employees are entitled to pensions and other Government privileges, but of course allowances therefor would not add more than 5 or 10 per cent. to their earnings.

UNITED STATES.

Railway Labor.

[From Statistics of Railways of the United States, published by the Inter-state Commerce Commission.]

Year ended June 30—	Number of employees on June 30.	Amount of salaries and wages (to 99 per cent of all employees.)	Average yearly earnings ^a
1895.....	785,034	\$445,508,261	.....
1896.....	826,620	468,824,531	\$531.80
1897.....	823,476	465,601,581	564.33
1898.....	874,568	495,055,618	583.10
1899.....	928,924	522,967,896	579.95
1900.....	1,017,653	577,264,841	563.16
1901.....	1,071,169	610,713,701	584.75
1902.....	1,189,315	676,028,592	563.25

^aThe Interstate Commerce Commission does not publish average yearly earnings, and these figures have been calculated by dividing total wages and salaries by the mean number of employees at the beginning and at the end of each year.

RAILROAD TRANSPORTATION.

[From the bulletin of the New York department of labor for December, 1903.]

Average daily compensation of specified classes of employees, 1892 to 1902.

Classes of employees.	1892.	1893.	1894.	1895.	1896.	1897.
General officers.....	\$7.83	\$8.10	{ \$9.71	\$9.01	\$9.19	\$9.54
Other officers.....			{ 5.75	5.85	5.96	5.12
General office clerks.....	2.23	2.25	2.84	2.19	2.21	2.18
Station agents.....	1.82	1.83	1.75	1.74	1.73	1.73
Other station men.....	1.63	1.65	1.63	1.62	1.62	1.62
Engine men.....	3.68	3.68	3.61	3.65	3.65	3.65
Firemen.....	2.08	2.06	2.03	2.05	2.06	2.05
Conductors.....	3.03	3.10	3.04	3.04	3.05	3.07
Other trainmen.....	1.90	1.92	1.89	1.90	1.90	1.90
Machinists.....	2.29	2.31	2.21	2.22	2.26	2.23
Carpenters.....	2.08	2.10	2.02	2.03	2.03	2.01
Other shopmen.....	1.72	1.73	1.69	1.70	1.69	1.71
Section foremen.....	1.76	1.75	1.71	1.70	1.70	1.70
Other trackmen.....	1.22	1.22	1.18	1.17	1.17	1.16
Switchmen, flagmen, watchmen.....	1.80	1.82	1.75	1.75	1.74	1.72
Telegraph operators and dispatchers.....	1.92	1.96	1.93	1.93	1.93	1.90
Employees—account floating equipment.....	2.93	1.96	1.97	1.91	1.94	1.86
All other employees and laborers.....	1.63	1.70	1.65	1.65	1.65	1.64

Classes of employees.	1898.	1899.	1900.	1901.	1902.	Number of employ-ees, 1902.
General officers.....	\$9.73	\$10.08	\$10.45	\$10.97	\$11.17	4,816
Other officers.....	5.21	5.18	5.22	5.56	5.60	5,039
General office clerks.....	2.25	2.20	2.19	4.19	2.18	37,570
Station agents.....	1.73	1.74	1.75	1.77	1.80	33,478
Other station men.....	1.61	1.6	1.60	1.59	1.61	105,433
Enginemen.....	3.72	3.72	3.75	3.78	3.84	48,318
Firemen.....	2.09	2.10	2.14	2.16	2.20	50,651
Conductors.....	3.13	3.13	3.17	3.17	3.21	35,070
Other trainmen.....	1.95	1.94	1.96	2.00	2.04	61,383
Machinists.....	2.28	2.29	2.30	2.32	2.36	39,145
Carpenters.....	2.02	2.03	2.04	2.06	2.08	51,698
Other shopmen.....	1.70	1.72	1.73	1.75	1.78	136,579
Section foremen.....	1.69	1.68	1.68	1.71	1.72	35,700
Other trackmen.....	1.16	1.15	1.22	1.23	1.25	281,075
Switchmen, flagmen, watchmen.....	1.74	1.77	1.80	21.74	1.77	50,489
Telegraph operators and dispatchers.....	1.92	1.93	1.96	1.98	2.01	28,244
Employees—account floating equipment.....	1.89	1.89	1.92	1.97	2.00	7,426
All other employees and laborers.....	1.67	1.68	1.71	1.69	1.71	147,201
Total.....						1,189,315

a Based on the reports of the statistician of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

b Switching train crews transferred from "Switching," etc., to "Other trainmen." Change slightly affects enginemen, etc.

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

Number and per cent. of men (adults) employed by principal railway companies, at specified weekly rates of wages, 1891.

[From Bulletin of United States Department of Labor, January, 1899.]

Weekly rate of Wages.	Number.	Per cent.	Weekly rate of wages.	Number.	Per cent.
Under 10s. (\$2.43).....	210	0.1	40s. to 45s. (\$9.73 to \$10.95).....	9,974	3.2
10s. to 15s. (\$2.43 to \$3.65).....	8,186	2.6	45s. to 50s. (\$10.95 to \$12.17)...	1,997	0.4
15s. to 20s. (\$3.65 to \$4.87).....	123,062	39.4	50s. to 6's. (\$12.17 to \$14.50)...	891	0.3
20s. to 25s. (\$4.87 to \$6.08).....	90,472	28.8	60s. (\$14.50) or over.....	456	0.1
25s. to 30s. (\$6.08 to \$7.30).....	49,307	15.7			
30s. to 35s. (\$7.30 to \$8.52).....	10,732	6.6	Total.....	314,520	100.0
35s. to 40s. (\$8.52 to \$9.73).....	8,933	2.8			

More than one-half of the employees receive under \$6.03 a week, and the most numerous class are those who earn from \$3.65 to \$4.87 weekly. The British board of trade, on the basis of these reports, estimated the average annual earnings of adult males to be \$296.37 in England and Wales and \$291.50 in Great Britain and Ireland.

Average weekly earnings of British railway employees in the first week of December.

[From Ninth Annual Abstract of Labor Statistics, by the British labor department.]

	Number of com-panies.	Number of em-ployees.	Average wages.	
England and Wales.....	15	383,883	s. 25	d. 5½ = \$6.10
Scotland.....	5	45,240	23	1¼ = 5.55
Ireland.....	7	19,306	19	3¼ = 4.65
1902, United Kingdom.....	27	448,429	24	11½ = 6.00
1901, United Kingdom.....	27	440,567	25	0½ = 6.01
1900, United Kingdom.....	27	440,347	25	0¾ = 6.02
1899, United Kingdom.....	27	431,858	25	3 = 6.06
1898, United Kingdom.....	27	412,304	24	7¾ = 5.92
1897, United Kingdom.....	27	398,108	24	4¾ = 5.86

FRANCE.

Daily Wages Compared.

[From Bulletin of the United States Department of Labor, January, 1899.]

Railway employees in France, 1898.		Railway employees in the United States, 1890.	
Daily wages.	Per cent. of total.	Daily wages	Per cent. of total.
1.25 francs (\$0.241) or under.....	0.81	Under \$0.21.....	0.29
1.26 to 2.25 francs (\$0.243 to \$0.434).....	1.33	\$0.21 to .40.....	.36
2.26 to 3.25 francs (\$0.436 to \$0.627).....	28.44	.41 to .60.....	.83
3.26 to 4.25 francs (\$0.629 to \$0.820).....	32.40	.61 to .80.....	1.49
4.26 to 5.25 francs (\$0.822 to \$1.013).....	18.06	.81 to 1.00.....	4.25
5.26 to 6.25 francs (\$1.015 to \$1.206).....	10.04	1.01 to 1.20.....	21.69
6.26 to 7.25 francs (\$1.208 to \$1.399).....	4.02	1.21 to 1.40.....	21.59
7.26 to 8.25 francs (\$1.401 to \$1.592).....	1.96	1.41 to 1.60.....	15.08
8.26 to 9.25 francs (\$1.594 to \$1.785).....	1.16	1.61 to 1.80.....	11.40
9.26 to 10.25 francs (\$1.787 to \$1.978).....	.66	1.81 to 2.00.....	9.22
10.26 to 15.25 francs (\$1.98 to \$2.943).....	1.47	2.01 to 3.00.....	11.54
15.26 francs (\$2.945) or over.....	.15	3.01 or over.....	2.26
Total.....	100.00		100.00
5.25 francs (\$1.013) or under.....	80.54	1.00 or under.....	7.22
5.26 to 10.25 francs (\$1.015 to \$1.978).....	17.84	1.01 to 2.00.....	78.98

GERMANY.

Annual wages of employees of Prussian State Railways, 1896-97.

[From Bulletin of United States Department of Labor, January, 1899.]

Shopman, average \$256.42.

Trackmen, average \$182.31.

All other employees (1898-99 \$335.10), \$318.68.

Locomotive engineers begin at \$285.60; maximum, \$523.

Locomotive firemen begin at \$238; maximum, \$337.

Conductors begin at \$190.40; maximum, \$285.60.

Night watchmen begin at \$166.60; maximum, \$214.20.

THE TREND OF WAGES IN RECENT YEARS.

The Bulletin of the New York State Department of Labor for December, 1903, has the following editorial comment on the trend of wages in recent years:

The Bulletin contains a compilation of statistics published by the Federal and other State bureaus of labor to show the tendency of wages in recent years. All the statistics reveal a decline in wages after 1892, but the decline continued for a longer period in some States than in others, depending on the predominating industries of each and also in part upon the month of the year to which the statistics relate. As a general rule the lowest point in the decline was reached in 1895 or 1896, but whatever improvement began then remained unimportant until 1898. Since 1898 the rise in wages has been both important and widespread, so that by 1902 wages had generally reached a higher level than in 1892, the best year of the preceding decade.

In Massachusetts factories, for example, average yearly earnings rose from \$396 in 1886 to \$452 in 1892, declined to \$413 in 1894 and \$420 in 1898, and rose to \$460 in 1902. In Wisconsin, average annual earnings of factory employees rose from \$363 in 1883 to \$426 in 1892, declined to \$376 in 1894, and rose again to \$422 in 1901. In Pennsylvania the 1892 average was surpassed as early as 1899. In striking agreement with the wage statistics of State bureaus are the statistics of unemployment furnished by the Cigar Makers' International Union of America. In 1890 this organization paid to its members out of work (but not on strike) the sum of \$22,760.50 in benefits. In 1892 the amount declined to \$17,461, but in 1893 it increased 400 per cent., and for three years, 1894-1896, it stood at about \$175,000 annually. In 1897 it fell to \$117,471, and thereafter steadily declined to only \$21,071 in 1902, which, considering the increase in membership (more than 33 per cent), compares favorably with 1892.

The statistical compilation considered in the foregoing analysis appears at pages 445-454 of the New York department of labor's December bulletin and is subjoined:

The recent report of the United States Census Office on wages of factory operatives in 1890 and 1900 alludes to the inevitable incompleteness of statistics for such widely separated periods, in view of which the following statistics of wages in the last decade have been collated from the reports of State bureaus of labor statistics. To supplement these figures two tables are also given containing statistics published by Federal bureaus and covering agriculture, manufacturing, and transportation. *a*

*a*In close agreement with these official statistics are the figures published by the Cigar Makers' International Union of America on the amount annually expended for out-of-work benefits to its members. This fund is distinct from the strike and sick benefits and therefore registers the conditions of employment accurately.

WAGES IN THE UNITED STATES.

Year.	Manufacturing and mining. <i>a</i>	Agricultural. <i>b</i>	Year.	Manufacturing and mining. <i>a</i>	Agricultural. <i>b</i>
1890.....		98.6	1896.....	97.93	
1891.....	100.0	100.0	1897.....	98.96	
1892.....	100.3		1898.....	98.79	104.2
1893.....	99.32	102.6	1899.....	101.54	108.7
1894.....	98.06	95.4	1900.....	103.43	
1895.....	97.88	95.1			

a Based on reports from 148 establishments in 26 industries, representing 192 occupations. 1891 taken as 100. U. S. Dept. of Labor Bulletin No. 30, September, 1900.

b Relative wages of farm labor per month without board. 1891 taken as 100. Based on statistic in U. S. Dept. of Agriculture Bulletin No. 22, 1901.

CIGAR MAKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION EXPENDITURE FOR OUT-OF-WORK BENEFITS.

1890.....	\$22,760.50	1895.....	166,377.25	1899.....	38,037.00
1891.....	21,223.50	1896.....	175,767.25	1900.....	23,897.00
1892.....	17,460.75	1897.....	117,471.40	1901.....	27,083.70
1893.....	89,402.75	1898.....	70,197.70	1902.....	21,071.00
1894.....	174,517.25				

ILLINOIS.

[From the Eleventh Biennial Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics (1900)]

Statistics compiled from reports of 627 identical manufacturing establishments.

Year.	Average number of wageworkers em- ployed.			Aggregate wages.	Average annual earnings.	Increase (per cent.)
	Male.	Female.	Total.			
1895.....	20,056	2,410	22,466	\$9,800,093	\$436.22	
1897.....	21,059	2,508	23,567	10,335,919	438.58	0.5
1899.....	23,804	3,362	29,166	13,876,259	475.77	8.5

IOWA.

[From Tenth Biennial Report of Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1901-2, p. 449.]

Year.	Estab- lish- ments.	Average number of employees.				Aggregate wages.	Nominal annual average.
		Men.	Women.	Child- ren.	Total.		
1896.....	1,752	40,854	7,732	687	49,273	\$17,369,662	\$352.71
1898.....	1,625	45,006	9,800	623	55,429	19,623,892	354.03
1900.....	1,285	41,893	3,281	(<i>a</i>)	51,175	21,145,961	413.20
1902.....	1,227	47,857	11,812	2,630	662,299	26,654,504	c431.80

a Not separately reported

b No wage account reported for 996 of this number, hence 996 is to be deducted in calculating average income.

c The nominal annual average earnings of adult males in 1901 were \$501.91; of adult females, \$241.40; of children under 16 years, \$122.85.

MASSACHUSETTS.

[From reports of Bureau of Statistics of Labor on Statistics of Manufacturers.]

NOTE.—In order to preserve an accurate basis for comparisons the Bureau each year omits establishments that did not report in the preceding year. To illustrate: In 1901 the Bureau reported the average earnings of all employees in factories that made comparative returns in 1900 and 1901 to be \$449.63, as stated in the first column. But in the 1902 report the factories reporting were not precisely the same as those included in the preceding year, and a new average income was computed for 1901—namely \$449.69, as stated in the second column—which, compared with 1902 average, revealed a gain of \$10.29 in the last-mentioned year. As a general rule, little variation is to be noticed in the two averages for any one year.

Year.	Average annual earnings as stated in the report of the—		Increase or decrease in average yearly earnings.				Average number of days worked.
	Current year.	Next succeeding year.	Amount.		Percentage.		
			Gain.	Loss.	Gain.	Loss.	
1886		\$395.89					
1887	\$396.14	394.79	\$0.25		0.06		
1888	402.45	413.19	7.66		1.94		
1889	419.17	426.82	5.98		1.45		
1890	433.56	437.93	6.74		1.58		
1891	441.90	445.49	3.97		.91		296.78
1892	452.21	450.59	6.72		1.51		297.14
1893	434.17	436.13		\$16.42		\$3.64	277.36
1894	421.81	412.56		14.32		3.23	275.63
1895	421.50	425.39	9.03		2.19		291.42
1896	425.16	426.66		.23		.05	279.43
1897	421.69	422.26		4.97		1.16	283.33
1898	421.48	419.91		.78		.18	286.23
1899	427.71	427.60	7.80		1.86		294.14
1900	439.57	441.61	11.97		2.80		290.43
1901	449.63	449.69	8.02		1.82		292.78
1902	459.98		10.29		2.29		296.09

Estimated average yearly earnings of

Year.	Adult males.	Adult females.	Minors (under 21 years of age).
1899	\$523.34	\$324.72	\$219.34
1900	530.82	334.70	228.33
1901	542.23	342.68	231.85
1902	552.60	353.36	244.24

NEW YORK.

EXPLANATORY NOTE.—The following table gives the results of two separate investigations which are not strictly comparable. The first investigation, made in 1896, shows that after the middle of 1892 wages declined. The second investigation, covering 3,553 identical establishments, reveals a slight fall in wages between 1895-96 and 1896-97. After the middle of 1897 employment and wages increased in a striking manner, and this very increase renders it difficult to calculate an average annual wage. The statistics indicate that the total amount paid out in wages by the 3,553 manufacturers between July 1, 1897, and July 1, 1898, was \$151,279,010; but at the beginning of the period they were paying wages to 304,376 workers and at the end to 326,090. It is therefore obviously incorrect to call either \$464 (\$151,279,010 divided by 326,090) or \$497 (the same amount divided by 304,376) the average yearly earnings. The fact is no satisfactory method has yet been discovered of computing the average income when the number of employees fluctuate in this way. The least objectionable method of calculation on the basis of these figures is to divide the total wages by the mean number of employees, 315,233 (one-half the sum of 304,376 and 326,090), which yields an average wage of \$480. Similar calculations for 1897 and 1899 yield the averages \$459, and \$477, as expressed in brackets.

Annual wages of persons employed in manufacturing industries.

[From Fourteenth and Seventeenth Annual Reports of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1896 and 1899.]

Date	Total amount paid in wages.	Firms concerned.	Persons employed on June 1 (or June 30).	Crude average wage of persons employed at end of each annual period.
May 31, 1891.....	\$98,257,541	1,711	200,333	\$468
May 31, 1892.....	100,616,011	1,824	215,830	466
May 31, 1893.....	109,073,849	1,986	236,908	460
May 31, 1894.....	99,052,129	2,154	225,137	440
May 31, 1895.....	110,427,159	2,290	253,139	436
June 30, 1896.....	141,184,845	3,553	299,957	471
June 30, 1897.....	138,577,878	3,553	304,376	455 [c459]
June 30, 1898.....	151,279,010	3,553	326,090	464 [c480]
June 30, 1899.....	162,645,649	3,553	356,278	457 [c477]

a\$138,577,878 divided by 302,166, the mean of 299,937 and 304,376.

b\$151,279,010 divided by 315,233, the mean of 304,376 and 326,090.

c\$162,645,649 divided by 341,184, the mean of 326,090 and 356,278.

Since 1897 the New York bureau has collected statistics of actual earnings of wage-workers through the officers of workmen's organizations, reaching in this way 150 wage-earners where one could have been reached by means of individual schedules. As a large proportion of the members of trades unions are well-paid artisans and mechanics of the building trades, their earnings of course average much higher than those of factory employees already given. The New York statistics are based on quarterly reports collected twice a year and thus cover one-half of each year:

Average earnings of organized workmen, 1897-1903.

Year.	January-March.	July-September.	Average for three months.	Estimated average, for one year.	Estimated number of days of employment in year.
1897.....	\$145	\$174	\$163	\$650	254
1898.....	164	175	169	678	255
1899.....	172	197	187	747	273
1900.....	176	182	179	716	265
1901.....	183	194	189	756	274
1902.....	184	197	191	765	278
1903.....	186	190	188	753	278

Experience has shown that earnings in the six months April-June and October-December run about the same as in the six months for which statistics are collected, so that it is not erroneous to estimate the year's earnings on that basis. Between 1897 and 1903 the average yearly earnings of men increased \$103 (from \$650 to \$753), or 16 per cent. As a matter of fact, the real increase was much larger, for the membership of trades unions more than doubled in the above-mentioned period and the new members almost invariably belonged to trades or lived in localities where they worked for lower rates of wages than the old members. As a consequence of these additions the average daily wage appeared to be stationary after 1899, while as a matter of fact it was almost universally advancing. In 1901, for example, 47,585 members of unions obtained advances averaging \$1.97 a week, while only 2,668 suffered reductions in weekly wages—and these were principally due to the establishment of shorter hours of work. In 1902, again, 93,225 trades-unionists secured increases in wages averaging \$1.78 a week, while only 3,329 sustained decreases. Considering these facts, it seems quite conservative to say that wage rates increased at least 10 per cent. between 1897 and 1903. In that period employment increased as follows:

Percentage of working time in which organized working men and women were employed and idle.

Year.	Employed.	Idle.
	<i>Per cent.</i>	<i>Per cent.</i>
1897.....	69.7	30.3
1898.....	76.0	24.0
1899.....	82.0	18.0
1900.....	79.5	20.5
1901.....	82.8	17.2
1902.....	86.6	13.4
1903.....	86.1	13.9

The duration of employment in 1903 was therefore 24 per cent. greater than in 1897. Assuming that rates of wages increased only 10 per cent. in the same interval, their gain in earnings would be 36 per cent. This is doubtless larger than the increase enjoyed by workers in manufacturing industries.

The following tables show the—

Prevailing daily rates of wages in the building industry of New York City (Manhattan Borough) from 1883 to 1903.

Year.	Bricklayers and masons.	Carpenters.	Housesmiths.	Laborers.		Painters and decorators.	Plasterers.	Plumbers and gas fitters.	Roofers.	Sheet-metal workers.	Steam fitters.	Timelayers.
				Masons'.	Plasterers'.							
1883...	\$4.00	\$3.50	\$2.75	\$2.50	\$3.00	\$2.50-4.00	\$4.00	\$3.00-3.50	\$3.00	\$2.00-3.00	\$3.00	.....
1884...	4.00	3.50	2.75	2.50	3.00	2.50-4.00	4.00	3.50	3.50	2.00-3.00	3.50	.....
1885...	4.00	3.50	2.75	2.50	3.00	3.00-4.00	4.00	3.50	3.50	2.00-3.00	3.50	\$3.50
1886...	4.00	3.50	2.75	2.50	3.00	3.12-4.00	4.00	3.50	3.50	2.50-3.50	3.50	3.50
1887...	4.00	3.50	2.75	2.75	3.00	3.12-4.00	4.00	3.50	3.50	2.50-3.50	3.50	3.50
1888...	4.00	3.50	2.75	2.25-2.75	.....	3.50-4.00	4.50	3.50	3.50	3.00	3.50	3.50
1889...	4.00	3.50	2.75	2.25-2.75	.....	3.50-4.00	4.00	3.50	3.50	3.25	3.50	3.50-4.00
1890...	4.50	3.50	2.75	2.25-2.75	.....	3.50-4.00	4.00	3.50	3.50	3.25	3.50	3.50-4.00
1891...	4.00-4.50	3.50	2.00-2.75	2.40-2.50	2.50	3.50-4.00	4.00	2.75-3.75	3.50	3.25	3.50	4.00
1892...	4.00	3.50	2.00-2.75	2.40-2.50	2.50	3.50-4.00	4.00	2.75-3.75	3.50	3.25	3.50	4.00
1893...	4.00	3.50	2.00-2.75	2.40-2.50	2.75	3.50-4.00	4.00	2.75-3.75	3.50	3.25	3.50	4.00
1894...	4.00	3.50	2.00-2.75	2.40	2.75	3.50-4.00	4.00	2.75-3.75	3.50	3.25	3.50	4.00
1895...	4.00	3.50	2.00-2.75	2.40	2.75	3.50-4.00	4.00	2.75-3.75	3.50	3.25	3.50	4.00
1896...	4.00	3.50	2.00-2.75	2.40	2.75	3.50-4.00	4.00	2.75-3.75	3.50	3.25	3.50	4.00
1897...	4.00	3.50	2.50	2.40	2.75	3.00-4.00	4.00	3.75	3.50	3.25-3.50	3.50	4.00
1898...	4.00	3.50	2.50-2.80	2.40	2.75	3.00-4.00	4.00	3.75	3.50	3.25-3.50	3.50	4.00
1899...	4.40	3.50-4.00	2.80-3.50	2.64	3.00	3.00-4.00	4.50	3.75	3.50	3.50	3.75	4.00
1900...	4.40	4.00	3.20-3.50	2.64	3.00	3.00-4.00	4.50	3.75	3.50	3.75	4.00	4.50
1901...	4.80	4.00	3.76	2.64	3.00	3.00-4.50	4.50	3.75	3.75	3.75	4.00	5.00
1902...	5.20	4.50	4.00	2.80	3.25	3.50-4.50	5.00	4.25	4.00	4.00	4.00	5.00
1903...	5.20	4.50	4.50	2.80	3.25	3.50-4.50	5.50	4.25	4.00	4.00	4.00	5.00

a Amalgamated reports painters' wages \$4; the Brotherhood, \$3.50 and \$4. Amalgamated reports decorators' wage \$4.50. Decorators received the higher rate throughout the entire period.

Prevailing daily rates of wages for paving and stonecutting in New York City (Manhattan Borough), 1883 to 1903.

Year.	Paving.	Freestone.	Granite.	Marble.	Year.	Paving.	Freestone.	Granite.	Marble.
1883.....	\$4.00	\$4.50	\$3.50	\$2.50	1894.....	4.50	4.50	4.00	3.50
1884.....	4.00	4.50	3.50	2.50	1895.....	4.00	4.50	4.00	3.50
1885.....	4.00	4.50	3.50	\$2.50-3.00	1896.....	.....	4.50	4.00	3.50
1886.....	4.00	4.50	3.50	2.50-3.00	1897.....	4.50	\$3.50 and 4.50	4.00	4.00
1887.....	5.00	4.50	3.50	2.50-3.00	1898.....	4.50	3.50 and 4.50	4.00	4.00
1888.....	5.00	4.50	3.50	2.50-3.00	1899.....	4.50	3.50 and 4.50	4.00	4.00
1889.....	.....	4.50	4.00	3.50	1900.....	4.50	3.50 and 4.50	4.00	4.00
1890.....	.....	4.50	4.00	3.50	1901.....	4.50	3.50 and 4.50	4.00	4.50
1891.....	4.50	4.50	4.00	3.50	1902.....	4.50	4.00-5.00	4.00	4.50
1892.....	4.50	4.50	4.00	3.50	1903.....	4.50	4.00-5.00	4.50	5.00
1893.....	4.50	4.50	4.00	3.50					

PENNSYLVANIA.

Wages Compared.

[From the Twenty-ninth and Thirtieth Annual Reports of the Bureau of Industrial Statistics 1901 and 1902, pages 258 and 392, respectively.]

Year.	Returns from 854 establishments.			Returns from 771 establishments.			
	Em- ployees.	Average yearly earn- ings.	Yearly gain (+) or loss (-).	Em- ployees.	Average yearly earn- ings.	Yearly gain (+) or loss (-).	Per cent of increase
1892.....	136,882	\$491.90	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1893.....	122,278	464.66	— \$27.24	.....	.....	.....	.....
1894.....	109,383	413.15	— 51.51	.....	.....	.....	.....
1895.....	127,361	445.78	+ 32.63	.....	.....	.....	.....
1896.....	118,092	441.29	— 4.49	129,240	\$582.47	.....	.....
1897.....	121,281	429.90	+ 11.39	134,918	383.14	+ \$1.67	0.4
1898.....	137,985	454.52	+ 24.62	150,990	401.89	+ 17.75	4.6
1899.....	154,422	506.27	+ 51.75	173,302	437.37	+ 85.48	8.8
1900.....	136,814	509.43	+ 3.16	184,623	439.97	+ 2.60	.6
1901.....	156,424	544.80	+ 35.37	191,158	450.44	+ 10.47	2.4
1902.....	.....	.....	.....	203,927	482.68	+ 32.24	7.2

RHODE ISLAND.

[From the annual reports of the Bureau of Industrial Statistics.]

Wages in the textile industries, 1893-1901.

Year.	Average annual earnings as stated in the report of the—		Increase or decrease.				Number of reports tabulated.
	Current year.	Following year.	Amount.		Percentage.		
			Gain.	Loss.	Gain.	Loss.	
1893.		\$364.62					
1894.	\$327.53	324.41		\$37.29		10.23	121
1895.	363.73	339.97	\$39.32		12.12		123
1896.	313.69	319.20		26.28		7.73	135
1897.	337.22	336.13	18.02		5.65		135
1898.	329.23	329.75		36.90		2.05	151
1899.	347.07	348.71	17.32		5.25		175
1900.	376.57	378.11	27.86		7.99		186
1901.	384.89		6.78		1.79		188

a Corrected figures.

NOTE.—The average number of employees in the 138 factories considered in 1900-1901 was 47,600 in 1900 and 43,600 in 1901, and their aggregate wages were \$17,998,136 and \$18,707,133, respectively.

WISCONSIN.

[From Ninth Biennial Report of the Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics, 1899-1900, pages 235-238.]

Average annual earnings in factories, 1883-1901.

Year.	Average number employees.	Total wages.	Average yearly earnings.	Yearly gain (+) or loss (-).	Year.	Average number employees.	Total wages.	Average yearly earnings.	Yearly gain (+) or loss (-).
1883.....	39,360	\$14,268,213	\$363.00	.....	1894.....	83,642	\$31,409,244	\$376.00	— \$5.00
1885.....	38,797	13,710,417	354.00	— 39.00	1895.....	85,767	32,998,707	384.00	+ 8.00
1887.....	62,935	23,710,866	377.00	+ 23.00	1896.....	80,051	31,749,822	397.00	+ 13.00
1888.....	71,218	28,416,694	399.00	+ 22.00	1897.....	87,534	36,583,044	418.00	+ 21.00
1889.....	80,504	32,575,944	405.00	+ 6.00	1899.....	79,871	31,515,194	394.58	.....
1890.....	80,880	33,125,213	410.00	+ 5.00	1900.....	80,159	32,983,769	411.43	+ 16.90
1891.....	94,089	38,023,247	404.00	— 6.00	1900.....	78,632	32,378,588	412.00	.....
1892.....	90,936	38,295,878	421.00	+ 22.00	1901.....	82,775	34,863,674	422.00	+ 10.00
1893.....	96,540	37,327,810	381.00	— 45.00					

Percentage of factory employees whose daily wages were less than \$1 and \$1.50 or over.

Year.	Less than \$1.	\$1.50 or over.	Year.	Less than \$1.	\$1.50 or over.
	<i>Per cent.</i>	<i>Per cent.</i>		<i>Per cent.</i>	<i>Per cent.</i>
1888.....	17.06	49.25	1895.....	18.33	43.40
1891.....	15.32	54.56	1896.....	18.55	45.07
1893.....	16.00	52.67	1897.....	19.77	43.40
1894.....	18.67	43.89			

Lower prices in the United States than in England.

The claim is often made that while wages are higher in the United States the cost of living is correspondingly cheaper in Great Britain. That this statement is erroneous can be proved by official statistics obtained simultaneously in both countries. In 1892 the Senate Committee on Finance made an extensive report on "Retail prices and wages" in leading cities of the United States and Europe at different periods from June, 1889, to September, 1891. Among the cities considered in this report were St. Louis, Mo., and Manchester, England, cities for which wage comparisons have just been made.

A comparison of the prices of articles of identically the same description, obtained at the same time, namely, June, 1889, and September, 1891, in both cities, shows that instead of the necessary commodities of life being higher in the United States than in England they are, on the contrary, as a rule much lower. This is shown in the table which follows. A glance at this table shows that most of the necessary food products, such as bread, eggs, lard, bacon, roast beef, hams, mutton, milk, starch, and canned vegetables, were much lower in St. Louis than in Manchester, while the prices of the few remaining food products averaged about the same in both countries.

With regard to clothing and cloth goods, we find that men's hosiery, cotton shirts, sheetings, shirtings, and cotton and woolen dress goods of the same description and quality were cheaper in St. Louis than in Manchester; that carpets, flannels, and cotton underwear averaged about the same, and that only in the case of men's hats was there any decided difference in favor of the Manchester purchaser.

Household articles, such as earthenware, glassware, and cutlery, were nearly the same in price in St. Louis as in Manchester, with a very slight difference in some cases in favor of the latter city. On the other hand, furniture costs from about one-fifth to one-half as much in the United States as in Great Britain, so that for the cost of one bedroom set in Manchester one could buy from two to three sets in St. Louis, and for the cost of one dining table at Manchester a whole dining-room set could be bought in St. Louis.

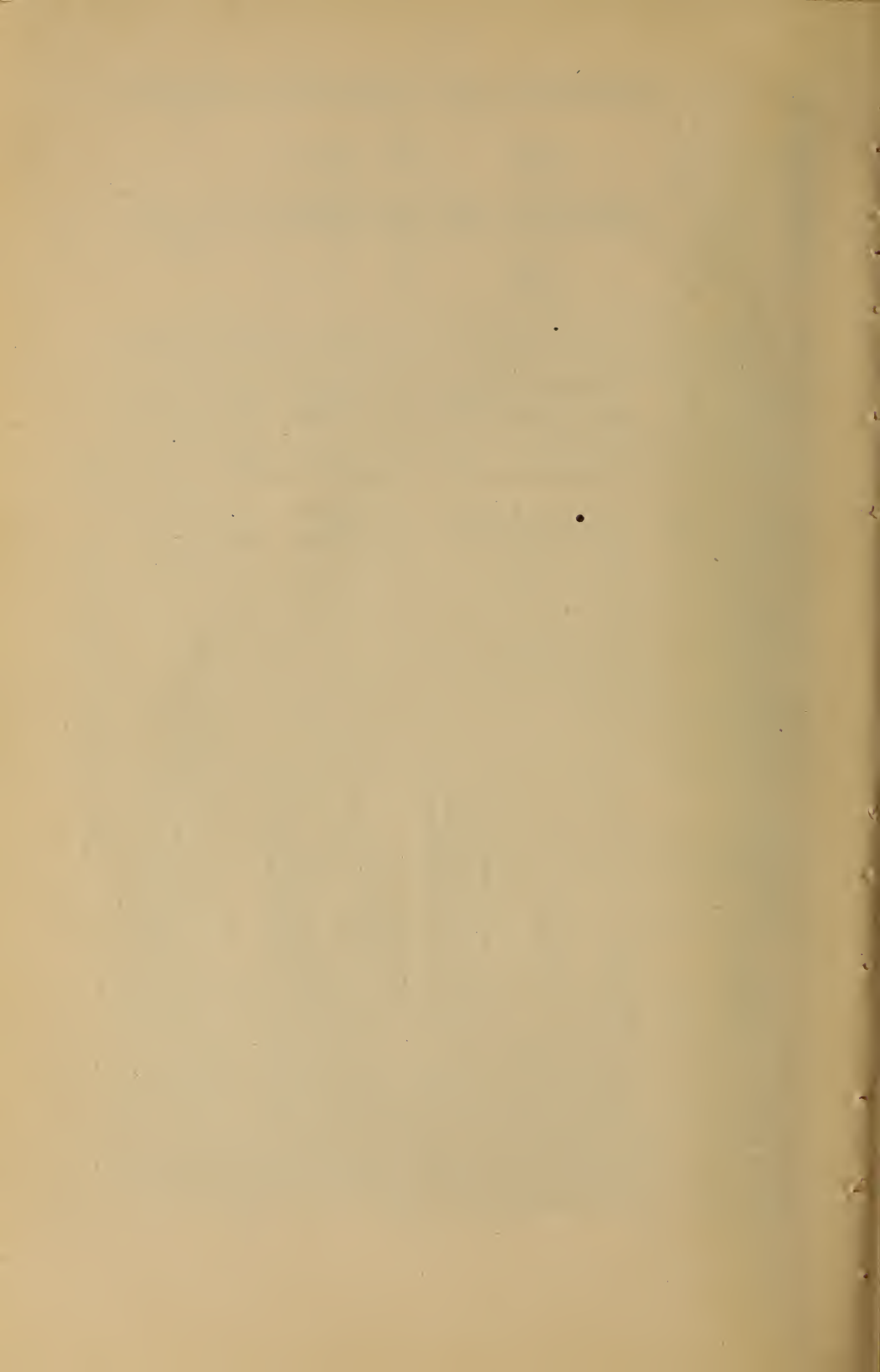
But the question may be asked, "If the American workingmen earn so much more and pay so much less for what they consume, why are they not all wealthy and contented?" The answer may be found in the statement of the eminent French scientist, Prof. Emile Levasseur, in his work on "L'Ouvrier Americain" (The American Workingman). After summing up the conditions of labor in America as compared with Europe he says that wages in the United States are about double the wages in Europe; that objects of ordinary consumption by working people (excepting dwelling houses) cost less in the cities of the United States than in those of Europe; *that the American workingman lives better than the European; that he eats more substantially, dresses better, is more comfortably housed and more often owns his dwelling, spends more for life insurance and various social and beneficial associations, and, in short, has a much higher standard of life than the European workingman.*

RETAIL PRICES OF COMMODITIES OF ORDINARY CONSUMPTION IN ST. LOUIS, MO., AND MANCHESTER, ENGLAND, IN JUNE, 1889, AND SEPTEMBER, 1891.

[Compiled from the report of the Senate Committee on Finance on "Retail prices and wages.]

	St. Louis, Mo.		Manchester, England.	
	June, 1889.	September, 1891.	June, 1889.	September, 1891.
Food products:				
Bread, best quality of baker's, per pound.....	\$0.04 to .30	\$0.04 to .30	\$0.04 1/2 to .22 1/2	\$0.05 1/2 to .26 1/2
Butter, best creamery, per pound.....	.12 to .12 1/2	.18 to .20	.22 1/2 to .24 1/2	.24 1/2 to .26 1/2
Eggs, not lined, and from vicinity.....	.09 to .10	.09 to .10	.16 1/2 to .18 1/2	.18 1/2 to .20 1/2
Lard, pure leaf, per pound.....	.03 1/2 to .05	.03 to .05	.04 1/2 to .06 1/2	.04 1/2 to .06 1/2
Meal, oat, per pound.....	.10 1/2 to .12 1/2	.11 to .15	.20 1/2 to .22 1/2	.18 1/2 to .20 1/2
Meat, bacon, per pound.....	.18 to .20	.20 to .25	.20 1/2 to .22 1/2	.18 1/2 to .20 1/2
Meat, beef, canned corn, No. 2 size, per can.....	.05 to .08	.05 to .08	.08 to .10	.08 to .10
Meat, beef, roasted, cuts of, per pound.....	.08 1/2 to .18	.08 1/2 to .15	.11 1/2 to .18 1/2	.13 1/2 to .20 1/2
Meat, ham, per pound.....	.05 to .10	.05 to .08	.14 1/2 to .16 1/2	.16 1/2 to .18 1/2
Meat, mutton, shoulder, per pound.....	.05 to .06	.05 to .06	.06 to .08	.06 to .08
Milk, fresh, per quart.....	.08 to .10	.07 1/2 to .10	.08 to .10	.08 to .10
Rice, Carolina prime, or similar grade, per pound.....	.07 1/2 to .10	.04 1/2 to .05	.08 to .10	.08 to .10
Sugar, granulated, per pound.....	.08 to .10	.08 1/2 to .10	.18 1/2 to .20 1/2	.18 1/2 to .20 1/2
Vegetables, canned, corn, standard No. 2 size, per can.....	.10 to .15	.10 to .15	.23 1/2 to .25 1/2	.22 1/2 to .24 1/2
Vegetables, canned, peas, standard No. 2 size, per can.....	.10 to .15	.10 to .15	.10 to .15	.10 to .15
Vegetables, canned, tomatoes, standard No. 3 size, per can.....	.08 to .10	.08 1/2 to .10	.11 1/2 to .13 1/2	.10 1/2 to .12 1/2
Cloth and clothing:				
Carpets, Ingrain, standard, per yard.....	.75 to .90	.85 to .90	.91 1/2 to .93 1/2	.79 to .81 1/2
Flannels, twilled scarlet, all wool, 3-4, per yard.....	.30 to .50	.25 to .45	.37 1/2 to .39 1/2	.37 1/2 to .39 1/2
Hats, men's derby, medium grade, each.....	2.00 to 3.00	1.90 to 2.50	.85 1/2 to .87 1/2	.85 1/2 to .87 1/2
Hosiery, men's cotton socks, mixed, per pair.....	.10 to .15	.10 to .15	.24 1/2 to .26 1/2	.24 1/2 to .26 1/2
Linen goods, men's cotton shirts, linen bosoms, 8 by 15 inches.....	.40 to .75	.50 to .70	1.09 1/2 to 1.09 1/2	1.09 1/2 to 1.09 1/2
Sheetings, brown standard, per yard.....	.07 1/2 to .08 1/2	.07 1/2 to .08 1/2	.08 1/2 to .09 1/2	.08 1/2 to .09 1/2
Shirtings, bleached, 4-4, per yard.....	.08 1/2 to .10	.08 1/2 to .10	.13 1/2 to .15 1/2	.13 1/2 to .15 1/2
Underwear, cotton shirt, Fairbairn, 84 gage.....	.35 to .45	.35 to .45	.46 1/2 to .48 1/2	.46 1/2 to .48 1/2
Underwear, cotton drawers, Fairbairn, 84 gage, per pair.....	.35 to .45	.35 to .45	.46 1/2 to .48 1/2	.46 1/2 to .48 1/2
Women's dress goods, cotton-warp cashmere, per yard.....	.35 to .45	.35 to .45	.46 1/2 to .48 1/2	.46 1/2 to .48 1/2
Women's dress goods, all-wool cashmere, per yard.....	1.00 to 1.00	.23 to .25	.39 1/2 to .41 1/2	.39 1/2 to .41 1/2
Miscellaneous:				
Soap, best family, per pound.....	.08 to .09 1/2	.06 to .07 1/2	.07 to .08 1/2	.06 to .07 1/2
Soap, ordinary laundry, per pound.....	.03 to .05	.04 1/2 to .05	.07 to .08 1/2	.07 to .08 1/2
Quinine, per ounce.....	.50 to .75	.50 to .75	1.46 to 1.46	.85 1/2 to .85 1/2
Earthenware, teacups and saucers, white granite, with handles, per dozen.....	.65 to 1.25	.65 to 1.25	.85 1/2 to .85 1/2	.85 1/2 to .85 1/2
Furniture, bed room set, ash or elm, 3 pieces (bedstead, bureau and washstand).....	18.50 to 80.00	18.50 to 26.00	.51 to .52	.51 to .52
Furniture, tables, dining, plain oak extension, each, 5-foot.....	8.15 to 7.50	8.15 to 8.00	.51 to .52	.51 to .52
Furniture, tables, kitchen, plain wood, 4-foot.....	1.50 to 2.00	1.50 to 1.75	.64 to .65	.64 to .65
Glassware, tumblers, common pressed, 1/2-pint, per dozen.....	.40 to .60	.40 to .60	.49 1/2 to .51 1/2	.49 1/2 to .51 1/2
Knives and forks, table, iron handles, per dozen, each.....	.50 to 1.10	.50 to 1.10	.49 1/2 to .51 1/2	.49 1/2 to .51 1/2
Lamp chimneys, A-Sun, each.....	.05 to .10	.05 to .10	.05 to .10	.05 to .10

a Prices in Liverpool. Manchester prices not quoted.



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NOTE : All titles refer to the acts of President Roosevelt and are to be so applied.

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"There is a conflict in which there can be no truce—the conflict between capital and capitalization."

Independent American enterprise is equal to the strategy of our commercial defense.

SPEECH

OF

Hon. JONATHAN P. DOLLIVER

OF IOWA

IN THE

UNITED STATES SENATE

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 20TH, 1904



**EXTRACTS FROM THE SPEECH OF
HON. JONATHAN P. DOLLIVER
OF IOWA**

Mr. DOLLIVER said: Mr. President, I have been very much interested since the present session of Congress began in observing the complete victory which the existing tariff law has won over the prejudices and settled opinions which for generations have determined the attitude of the Democratic party toward the protective policy. For the first time in our national history since 1816 that policy stands approved, its enemies themselves being the judges, by the common consent of the American people. If we may accept the plain intimation of the Democratic leaders of the Senate and of the House of Representatives, the old battle cries of the party are not to be heard as we approach the Presidential election of this year. But in their place we are likely to find a calm and resigned acceptance of our established industrial system, with no suggestion of a change which will disturb its foundations or alarm the interests which have grown up under its influence.

In order to interpret the conservative programme of dealing with the tariff which the Senator from Maryland for the second time brings forward as a platform for the Democratic party, let me read two sentences from an article printed in a recent magazine by the Hon. JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS:

"The general principle that protectionism," says this writer, "is wrong, morally wrong—a prostitution of government to private ends—should never be forgotten; the goal ought never to be lost sight of. At the same time the friends of tariff reform would not strike down, in a revolutionary way, overnight, as the Germans say, all the scaffolding which the false system has erected."

I may be mistaken about it, but it looks to me as if the platform outlined by the Senator from Maryland, intended to allure the country into the belief that the great industries by which our people live are not to be subjected, in case of Democratic victory, to an immediate assault, will be read in the light of this more candid if less seductive statement of the actual motive of Democratic statesmanship. For the difficulty which his followers labor under when they try to harmonize their crude fanaticism with his soft and benignant method of winning elections, without arousing the country and putting the people on their defense, is illustrated also in speeches which have been made here and to which I can more appropriately refer:

I have been taught, and I believe, that the Dingley tariff is an abomination—

Said the eloquent Senator from North Carolina in the Cuban debate of December 15—

that it is an exorbitant and excessive taxation, and that after levying a sufficient sum to make up the difference between the labor and the material cost between this country and competing countries it imposes heavy additional duties, in many instances for no other purposes than private enrichment.

It will thus appear that the effort to detach the Democratic party from its traditional antipathy to the protective tariff system is not likely to deceive very many people in a country whose pathway has been lit by an experience so acute and so recent as to baffle all attempts to explain it, however persistent or captivating.

INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM SUBMITTED TO TEST.

Within the past ten years the industrial system established by our fathers and defended by all our great practical statesmen who were not under the duress of the slave power, from Washington to McKinley, has had to submit to a test more severe than it had ever before encountered. The question for the first time has become debatable whether the universal law of competition in our market place is able to stand up in the present state of American business or has gone to pieces as a result of a new industrial situation. And we are gravely informed that the trust question is to be made the paramount issue of the approaching campaign.

It can not be denied that the public uneasiness over the sudden rise of the trust system, affecting all classes of society, has given an uncommon opportunity for every form of reckless agitation to find an audience. It would be expecting too much even

of Democratic conservatism that it should miss such an opportunity; and it must be confessed, if it could be shown that the policy of sheltering the industries of the United States against the damaging competition of other countries had resulted in a successful conspiracy in restraint of trade in our own country, the task of defending the protective tariff would become a good deal harder than it ever has been before.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the uprising of public opinion against the trusts should have taken the form of a clamor not altogether confined within party lines against the protective tariff system itself, and it can not be denied that there was something exasperating beyond all patience in seeing industries which had literally been created out of the dust of the earth by the act of 1890 manipulated within ten years into huge corporations seeking to engross the whole market place. But time enough has elapsed and things enough have happened to enable us to bring all these scare heads and signals of distress to the test of experience, and to judge with some degree of accuracy how the principle of protection holds its previous reputation in the midst of such new and strange influences as have beset the American market place during the last ten years.

The Democratic party was quick to take up the statement which the president of the American Sugar Refining Company made in his testimony before the Industrial Commission that "the customs-tariff law is the mother of trusts." That sentence, passing rapidly into the liturgy of Democratic devotions, has become the text for every species of extravagant declamation and invective. It has seldom happened to a single man to render such a service to his party in the hour of its distraction, and if that sentence is to be made the paramount issue of the approaching campaign, ordinary generosity would require that Mr. Havemeyer's name should appear somewhere on the ticket.

I propose to inquire briefly into the truth of that proposition, then into the extent of the trust influence in our various fields of industrial production, and, after that, into the behavior of the law of competition, operating in a market place like ours, suddenly invaded by the reckless spirit of trust speculation.

TRUST INFLUENCE.

It is hard to understand how anyone experienced in the practical aspect of affairs can believe that the effect of protective laws has been to foster, much less to engender, monopoly. The American market place is a unit, and every part of it, in the nature of the case, shares alike in the advantages arising from a given schedule. The object of such a schedule and its uniform result has been to produce not one industry but many of like kind; not in one section of the country alone, but everywhere throughout our borders. So that if a tendency toward monopoly has grown up in the United States it must be explained on some other principle. For more than a century these laws which are said to breed trusts had the undeniable effect to distribute throughout our whole territory the industries which they were designed to build up, so that from ocean to ocean the map of the United States has been colored all over by the innumerable industrial activities of the American people.

And even in these later years, at the very time the outcry against the trusts has silenced all the other noises of our political strife, the publication of the census of 1900 has thrown the light of definite information upon the flights of everybody's imagination. Whoever now begins his tirade against the trusts by announcing that they bestride our narrow industrial world like a colossus, only makes himself ridiculous. Fortunately we know in this Presidential campaign what we did not know in the last—exactly how many trusts there are, where they are located, what their capital is, and what their relation to the business of the country is. At the time the census was taken they employed 3.4 per cent. of the factory labor of the country, and their total output was 14.1 per cent. of the aggregate factory product of the United States. In order to exhibit the exact relation which they bore to the varied field of our industrial production, I will ask your attention to Table 26, contained in Part I of the census of manufactures:

TRUSTS FIRST MADE THEIR APPEARANCE IN FREE-TRADE COUNTRIES.

The census of 1900 has been supplemented by careful investigations, which bring our knowledge down to date. A notable and useful work of this character is the recent book called "The Truth about the Trusts," by Mr. John Moody, who appears to be a competent student, entirely without bias, except perhaps a rather insubstantial hope

that better days are ahead for the trust combinations. I notice in this book that the author puts down the names of 318 trusts, counting those in various states of dilapidation; but the list includes at least 100 which are composed of only two constituent companies and many others which are unimportant in size and negligible in influence.

It is a safe calculation, however, considering how rapidly their competitors have gained upon them, to say that the combined product of all of them, compared to the total output of the country, is less rather more than is shown by the figures of the census. It needs, therefore, only the slightest familiarity with our industrial statistics to relieve a man's mind at once of the fear that the whole market place has been overshadowed by new and sinister business adventures; and hereafter whoever tries to deal with the trust problem at all will be compelled to deal with an ascertained situation and to let go, however reluctantly, of the endless chain of hearsay and fable which has been worked so long by all sorts and conditions of men in the United States.

I do not intend to discuss at this point the origin of the trusts. The subject is an intricate one and I have not finished my meditations upon it, but I have got far enough into it to see that the protective system is not the mother of them, for that system was a century old before the first one of them was born; and beside that, they made their appearance in free-trade countries even before they did here. I distinctly remember that Mr. Blaine, immediately after his return from Europe in 1888, opened the Harrison campaign by the statement, verified by the common knowledge of everybody, that England was even then plastered all over with trusts. Furthermore, very many of our trusts, from the least and the meanest, like the American Ice Company, even unto the greatest and most successful, like the Standard Oil Company, have dealt with commodities which have nothing to lose by free trade, and never have had.

I am not one of those who have been deceived by the dogmatic statement so often heard in this discussion that the trust is an evolution, and therefore to be accepted, if not as a consummation devoutly to be wished, at least as a final state of things not to be disturbed, except under the heavy penalties imposed by the laws of nature. There is an evolution of business from the day of small things to the modern triumphs of accumulated capital over the market places of the world which no man in his senses complains of; and one of the misfortunes of the trust agitation as it has been conducted in the past has been its indiscriminate attack upon enterprises of large capital, and especially upon corporate undertakings which have assembled vast investments for the transaction of business upon a scale previously unapproached.

There are few among us who would take away from the business community of the United States the modern weapons with which we have fought our way into the arena of the world's affairs, and that man renders the American people a very doubtful service who, in his hurry to strike down the trusts, assaults with indiscriminate stupidity the great corporations which have collected the scattered and unfruitful accumulations of many individuals and put them at the service of the community.

THE LAW OF PROPERTY.

The oldest law known among men, except the law of the family, is the law of property. It has been comparatively easy to justify that law in all ages, for while it has not always been regarded as certain that what you have earned and saved is yours, it has always been obvious that it is not mine. If it has become harder to defend the law of property, whether individual or corporate, in our own times, it is not because its foundations are any less secure or its rights any less sacred; it is because the inventions of avarice and greed have filled the hearts of millions of people with resentment against the whole tribe of promoters, underwriters, stockjobbers, and cheats at common law. And I venture the opinion in this Chamber that the law of property which we have inherited from our fathers, the immemorial prescription of civilization which guards the earnings and savings of labor, whether invested in a farm, in a cottage, or in the stocks of a railroad, a bank, or a manufacturing company, never had more defenders to fight for it than it has to-day, nor a wiser, truer friend to speak for it than the President of the United States.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IS ACCUSED BY ITS ADVERSARIES OF NURTURING THE TRUSTS.

For proof the circumstance is cited that they began to increase and multiply after McKinley's first election. It is true that few trusts were organized during Mr.

Cleveland's last Administration; not, however, because either the President or the Congress by word or deed assumed a threatening attitude toward them, but for the reason that all business was suspended, all credit abolished, and hardly enough money left in circulation to capitalize the organized charities. The only responsibility which Republican policies have had in the matter is that under their auspices a revival of business took place which lifted the country at once out of rags into affluence; and what-citizens who have ever had any temptation to kill them off by remedies which have ever may be said in condemnation of the trust evil, there are mighty few thoughtful never failed to produce the industrial misfortune out of which we escaped in 1896.

Nor ought it to be forgotten that the only steps which have been taken by legislation to prevent conspiracies in restraint of trade—the act of 1890, the act of last year to put a stop to secret freight discriminations, and, more important than either, the adequate equipment of a Bureau of Corporations in the new Department of Commerce and Labor—have been taken by the Republican party. The Sherman law did not, however, deal with such a problem as has grown up in these later years. The late Senator Hanna using the language of a plain, blunt, business man, began his discussion of the trusts on the stump in Ohio by stating in a straightforward way that “there are no trusts in the United States,” and while his speech was laughed at a good deal, yet he spoke the literal truth.

I hold in my hand a little book, published in 1888 by William V. Cook, a member of the New York bar—a mere pamphlet on the trusts—which gives a description of the various forms of industrial combination which up to that time had attracted public attention. He sets out in full the agreements upon which the Standard Oil trust and the sugar trust of that period were based, and describes with some detail the various forms of trade arrangements by which numerous industries had sought the advantages of a more or less compact organization. Some were manufacturing agreements; others selling agreements; others still mere associations for the benefit of the trade. Only two of them appear to have represented a settled purpose of monopolizing the market place, and all of them seem to have been a crude expression of the desire of those concerned to avoid the losses and wastes incident to unrestrained competition.

These were the trusts of 1890, and against them the public opinion of that day, aided by the antitrust laws, Federal and local, as administered by the courts, was so effective that within a brief time the primitive trust system disappeared altogether, and little remains except the name to identify the corporate combinations of to-day with the trust movement of the period prior to 1890.

The trust of these times is a single corporation, regularly chartered under State laws, which has acquired in one title, the separate properties which constitute its plant, so that the problem of dealing with it without rewriting the whole law of corporate property becomes at once difficult and obscure. The trustees who formerly managed separate properties freely committed to their control by the owners have disappeared, and the board of directors exercising all the legal rights of proprietorship over combined properties has taken their place. I am not sure that this transition of industries from the hands of several corporations into the control of the single one, if it could have been made within certain well-defined limits and in perfect good faith toward the public, would have in the long run been regarded as against the general welfare. It permits so many savings in production and distribution and avoids so many of the wastes of the common methods of business that there are reasons for believing that the public would have taken no detriment, but advantage rather, from it.

It has been so uniformly true that the process of cheapening production and facilitating transportation has inured to the benefit of the whole community, that it requires no very unusual confidence in the laws which govern this world to believe that these corporations, when honestly formed and honestly administered, might be made a blessing to the whole world. I have never been disturbed because Congress has not been more swift to strike them down.

I AM SURE THAT THERE ARE LAWS IN THE UNIVERSE WHICH CONGRESS DID NOT MAKE AND WHICH, FORTUNATELY, CONGRESS HAS NOT YET REPEALED.

Without disparaging the sovereignty of the people over these gigantic creations of the State, the real sovereignty which holds them to their strictest account is the frame and structure of things in a world governed, after all, by the everlasting law of fair dealing among men. The progress of society from the itinerant shoemaker,

carrying his tools and his stock with him, fashioning footwear for the entire family while he tarried under their humble roof, to the mammoth shoe factories of New England, is by far more startling in its effect upon the community than the absorption of all these great plants into one could possibly be.

When I have reflected, therefore, upon what might happen to us if any one of our varied industrial fields should pass into a single ownership I have found a good deal of comfort in the thought that even such an institution, from its foundation up, would be compassed about by far-reaching limitations upon its power to oppress and degrade the market place which it had been called to serve; so that if one of our modern trusts should manage to secure and to hold, by fair means or foul, the exclusive production of a given article of general use and necessity, in the very nature of the case not only its permanent grip upon the market, but its profit from year to year would require its managers to divide with the community the savings incident to its improved methods and to put its product within reach of the people upon the fairest and most equitable terms.

LAW OF MAXIMUM CONSUMPTION.

It is a maxim of every great business that it moves upon tonnage, and its whole problem is to secure the wide distribution of its product rather than to reap extortionate profits upon a limited sale. The Government of the United States, if you will allow me to make an example of the only perfect monopoly there is in the country, has always jealously guarded its exclusive right in the manufacture and sale of postage stamps. Again and again the price of them has been put down—from 25 cents to 15, from 15 to 10, from 10 to 5, from 5 to 3, from 3 to 2. Every one of these reductions has been for the purpose of increasing the postal revenues, and every one of them has so speedily brought about that result that to-day there are shrewd people who think that a flat reduction of letter postage to 1 cent would still further increase the receipts of the service.

What law is that? It is the law of maximum consumption, by virtue of which the profits of a great business are multiplied; not by the arts of extortion and greed, but by deliberately reducing the price of the article until its use reaches from the few to the unnumbered millions. That is a law which God made and which Congress has not yet repealed.

Not one of the trusts, not even those which, like the American Sugar Refining Company, have approached most nearly to a monopoly, is exempt from that law. They watch more diligently than ever the signs of the market, for they know better than anybody else that their profit is in the sale and not in the manufacture of their goods.

BIG BUSINESS DONE IN A FAIR WAY.

Even such a natural monopoly as a railroad has learned that its dividends are more secure with a big business done in a fair way with a friendly community, than with a precarious business conducted on lines which impoverish its patrons and leave them stripped and embittered at every station along the line. How else shall we account for the fact that the consolidation of the American railway system has been accompanied with a steady decline of rates, until to-day they are less than 50 per cent. of what they were twenty years ago, and less by far than anywhere else in the whole world. The motto, "Charge what the traffic will bear," belongs to a rudimentary stage of railway management, long since superseded by the more enlightened selfishness which studies the improvement of facilities and the development of a territory upon which its earnings permanently depend.

There is another common law inherent in the nature of things which stands guard in the market places of the earth against the exactions of greed even when it is clothed with the powers and opportunities of monopoly, and that is the law of deferred consumption.

LAW OF DEFERRED CONSUMPTION.

There is a sense in which to the modern man the distinction between luxuries and necessities has passed away, so that, speaking in general terms, everything is a necessity. But the necessity of buying things has one benevolent limitation upon it—it is not always necessary to buy them to-day, or this week, or even this fall. Nearly everything, from the clothing upon our backs to the roof over our heads, can wait until the structure of high prices yields to the irresistible pressure of the market place.

Suppose, for example, that every factory making hats in the United States should be absorbed by a single corporation, which should blindly and stupidly fix the price of one at \$10, how long would a monopoly like that last before it would be reduced to bankruptcy by the quiet but effectual competition of every old hat that there is in the United States? Even the present price tends notably in that direction, for I am told that many of the lockers in the cloakrooms of the Senate are keeping the dust off of silk hats purchased to attend McKinley's funeral.

That placid, undemonstrative section in the statute book of human nature called the law of deferred consumption has already wrecked more than one promising capitalization of industry in the United States, and in some cases, at least, left the victims of the disaster too feeble to call for a receivership. So, if you should ask me to account for the fact that notwithstanding the shrieks of our political platforms, notwithstanding the timidity and hesitation of our statesmen, the American people as a whole have gone serenely about their affairs, refusing to become panic stricken by the apparently unobstructed advance of the mercenaries upon them, I should explain it by their instinctive faith in the government of the world—in those omnipotent energies which make for open and even-handed justice among the children of men.

For, when you come to think of it, in moments of meditative leisure, it would seem to be rather singular that the good God who made us and placed 80,000,000 of us here together in the greatest market place that has been known in the centuries of the world's commerce should have gone off and left us in our weakness to be robbed without benefit of clergy, with nothing to lean on except an occasional act of Congress or a joint resolution of the State legislature.

LAWS OF ALTERNATIVE CONSUMPTION.

Let me mention another of these laws more effective than the legislative enactments of man, which puts a limit to the schemes of monopoly, and that is the law of alternative consumption.

That is a law in obedience to which the market place turns from an article which has become irritating in price to a similar article which answers the same purpose. There are few things which men use that can not, in a pinch, be made to give way to something equally as good. If, for example, the manufacturing of woolen goods should pass into the control of a single corporation—a thing utterly incredible, or at least as far as it has been tried, utterly unprofitable—its product of this year would not only find itself in competition with last year's output, but with the aggregate supply of all the other textile industries in the country.

If a lumber trust were possible, combining every one of the 32,000 separate establishments which constitute, according to the census, the chief industry of thirty-one States of the Union and an important industry in all the rest, including our Territories and the islands of the sea, the market place would speedily bring even such a corporation to its terms, not only by putting off until to-morrow what could be done to-day, but by turning to the brickyard, the stone quarry, and the other supplies of building material within everybody's reach.

It is a common observation, verified by universal experience, that an unreasonable price not only fatally limits the use of the article, but drives its customers in other directions to satisfy their wants. Suppose that the present approach to monopoly attained by the American Tin Plate Company could be continued indefinitely, that institution would still be far short of a command of the market place, except on terms dictated by the people who consume its products. There is hardly a demand for tin plate which can not be met by the use of something else. So that even in the case of ordinary tinware, if the price should begin to respond to the dictation of greed, the potter, the glass-blower, the maker of enameled ware, and a score of other equally alert craftsmen are at hand at once to offer their sympathy.

Even the Standard Oil Company, powerful as it has become, is plainly subject to the mastery of these forces.

CHALLENGE OF THE TRUST.

There are few better illustrations than this plate-glass industry of the manifold devices of nature to circumvent the best-laid schemes for engrossing the market place, for, not satisfied with the situation which had been created through its absorption of practically the whole productive capacity of the country, it appears to have followed the hope of gain in new and perilous directions.

Not content with what appeared to be the undisputed privilege of manufacturing all the plate glass made in the country, in a moment of weakness it undertook to invade the functions of the merchant by establishing its own selling agencies in all the important cities of the country. To do that profitably it was compelled to keep in stock the kindred building material which the old jobbers of glass had been accustomed to handle, and before they knew it they had aroused the wrath of excitable little corporations engaged in manufacturing and selling paints, and these responded swiftly to the challenge of the trust by beginning the construction, at Kane, Pa., at a cost of more than a million dollars, of a perfectly equipped plant for manufacturing plate glass.

Our experience has already advanced to such a stage that we are enabled to say with some degree of certainty that no industry dealing with those natural resources like the harvest of the fields or the mineral riches of the earth, which are everywhere distributed throughout the country, can offer a hopeful chance for the operations of the trust promoter. That phase of the subject, however, I do not intend to discuss until I have advanced a little further into this study of the forces which are at work in the market place to bring confusion to the trust movement of the last decade.

LAW OF COMPETITION.

I hold it to be true that the law of competition, while it may be made subject to reasonable restraints, and possibly ought to be, can not be repealed or permanently impeded in its movements by any possible human devices. It is, therefore, my conviction that all or nearly all of these unwieldy creations of the incorporation laws of the country would be worn out by the internal resistance of the market place even if they represented a legitimate investment of bona fide capital. In that case if they survived at all it would only be on account of the efficiency of their administration and the equity with which they distributed to the community the economies in production arising from the combination.

I am not without the sympathy which every sober-minded man feels with those business undertakings, numerous in every part of the country, which have been compelled to consolidate their interests rather than to go on, each destroying the business of the other, in the fierce struggle to sell its products, and which, rather than continue any longer a death grapple for the trade, with its accompanying wastes and disappointments, have united their capital and brought the scattered details of their business under one management. In cases more numerous than the public is aware, this process has gone on, giving strength to enterprises that were weak and a new lease of life to others which were ready to fail.

Against such combinations I will not utter a word of condemnation, and I shall count myself unfortunate if I have not made plain the distinction between the speculative trust flotations and these legitimate combinations of capital to more efficiently carry on, without the aid of wind or water, the pursuits in which they are engaged. Unfortunately, however, for the typical speculative trust enterprise, it exhibits only a morbid, and, in many cases, a profligate effort to take away from the people the fruits of the world's industrial progress by creating an inflated capitalization which, in order to pay any dividend at all, must not only sacrifice the property involved, but lay burdens upon the community which no free market place will patiently bear. I have examined with some care the history of the organization of industrial trusts, such as these now in existence, in every stage of decomposition, and with a few honorable exceptions they all stand upon a more or less fictitious basis, and very many of them have been administered with cynical indifference to those principles of sound finance which have been for generations treated with respect throughout the world.

A CORPORATION ONE OF THE CHIEF BLESSINGS OF CIVILIZATION.

A corporation, very far from being a curse to the world, ought to be one of the chief blessings of civilization. I regard the English statute, which first outlined the structure of the modern corporation, as an epoch-making step in the progress of society. The bank, which represents the union of numerous stockholders and accepts on deposit the modest savings of the neighborhood, which would otherwise constitute a useless hoard, and puts them to the honorable service of the community, is a benign and not a hurtful institution. And so that organization of capital in corporate form which, in exchange for its stock, takes the actual money of investors, in sums great or small, and applies them to the production of the things which men need, ought not to have an unreasonable critic, much less an enemy, in the world.

We ought not to complain even if it grows with its success until at length, by the efficiency of its administration, it attains a commanding influence in the market place. The mere fact of its combination with other institutions of like character ought not in itself to work a prejudice against it. A single firm in New England, still managed by the surviving member of an ordinary partnership, owns more than a dozen cotton mills, running more spindles than any corporation in the world. I refer to the firm of B. B. & R. Knight, of Providence, R. I., and I refer briefly to the history of that firm, given in a work called "The New England States."

If two boys beginning life as common hands in a cotton mill can acquire and build up in their own names such a business as that, without harm to any public interest, who shall say that a corporation, with shareholders scattered all over the country, could not do the same thing?

OPPORTUNITIES OF AMERICAN BUSINESS.

I hope that I can get the attention of the young men of the United States. Everywhere I go I find men coming to me asking whether the old opportunities of American business are not gone; whether the trusts, the combines, the present industrial attitude of things have not at last succeeded in shutting the door of opportunity in the face of the young people of the United States. And I find hundreds of thousands of young men grown indolent and heartless in the battle of life because they have been told that the doors of opportunity have been at last shut. I have already said that I have not finished my meditations on this trust question, but I have got far enough in it to see that whatever else is true about it, that is not true. Instead of shutting the door of opportunity in the face of the young men of the United States, modern industrial methods have multiplied the opportunities of life in a thousand different directions.

Within twenty years every railroad magnate in America will be in his grave. Within twenty years every trust manager in the United States will either be on the retired list or in a sanitarium somewhere for nervous diseases brought on by drawing his salary, and panic-stricken boards of directors will be scouring in every direction looking for men of training and energy and intellect to take up these great business responsibilities and go forward with the work of the modern world. If I could get the ear of the young men of the United States I would say to them that there was never a minute in the history of the human race when a man taken by himself stood for as much and when a dollar taken by itself stood for as little as it does to-day.

AN EVOLUTION OF BUSINESS.

The wagon works at South Bend, Ind., date back to a little blacksmith shop on the edge of the woods at Ashland, Ohio, where my colleague, the senior Senator from Iowa, as a boy used to watch the old father of the Studebaker Brothers working at his forge, shoeing horses, and setting tires on the tumble-down vehicles of that frontier village of fifty years ago.

To-day his children and grandchildren control a corporation with millions of capital, occupying 90 acres of land, with 30 substantial buildings, in which thousands of well-paid American workmen are turning out carriages fit for the luxury of kings, and wagons which are helping to do the work of the whole world in peace and bringing up the rear of all its armies in war. That looks to me like an evolution of business, and I have sought in vain for somebody to fix the exact point between that little blacksmith shop yonder on the edge of the woods, at Ashland, and these palaces of modern American industry at which the safety of society requires the intervention of the politicians.

CAPITALIZATION OF THE TRUST.

The union of two or more establishments in one, whether effected by one of them buying the other out or by a third absorbing them all would be, so far as the public is concerned, a matter of comparative indifference if the obligations left outstanding in the process corresponded, in an economic sense, to the combined assets; and the most flagrant offense of many existing trust organizations lies in the fact that they have appeared in the market place bearing the burden of fictitious liabilities supported by an inventory of imaginary property. Comparatively few of them have added anything to the actual capital which they found invested or made a substantial contribution to the working instrumentalities of industry. They have as a rule taken over plants

already in operation, and in many cases encumbered them in advance so far beyond their value as to make the days of the combination few and full of trouble.

Take for illustration the Corn Products Company, commonly called the glucose trust, which in 1902 combined the starch trust with nearly every important glucose factory in the country. The entire property involved could have been duplicated in the most modern form for less than one-third of the capitalization of the trust. To make a dividend on its capital stock and to pay interest upon the bonded indebtedness of the constituent companies required earnings so excessive that immediately new companies, attracted by the apparent profits of the business, entered the field with improved machinery, and the result is thus stated in a recent issue of the Kansas City Journal:

Instead of the trust being able to undersell and drive them out they were able to undersell the trust. A single independent company with a capital of three millions is, it is said, grinding one-third as much goods as the trust with its capitalization of seventy-six millions.

We ought to be very slow to believe that we are living in a world where a modest investment of actual money will have anything to fear from such stuff as dreams like that are made of. Such a situation, whatever the college professors may say, is not an evolution of business, it is the lineal successor of South Sea bubbles and Mississippi schemes, and this aspect of the case is worth a careful attention because it is a description of nine out of ten of the lesser combinations and of more than one of the seven great industrial trusts.

Andrew Carnegie did not become the ironmaster of the world by fixing prices and limiting output in times of depression. He followed the fortunes of the market place even though in the last ten years of his business life he had to wade through balance sheets fluctuating all the way from three to forty millions of dollars.

But he had been so busy for thirty years making steel that he had never had time to study the art of manufacturing stocks; and if the corporation blanketed by his mortgage goes on losing its business for the sake of maintaining prices and starving its surplus under the necessity of paying dividends whether they are earned or not, it requires no prophetic foresight to see the miraculous little Scotchman returning in his old age to Pittsburg to rescue the imperiled steel properties of the United States.

These specific infirmities of genesis and of management would, in my humble opinion, gradually drag down the whole structure of the trust system without the aid of any act of Congress or the assistance of any political convention even if no outside influences were at work to undermine their foundations. But there is an outside influence at work, very ancient and not yet obsolete, which has steadily tended to weaken their hold upon the market place, which a good many people thought they were about to control, and that is the law of competition.

TARIFF AND THE TRUST.

It is a favorite Democratic theory that the trusts depend for their life upon the effect of the tariff law in mitigating the pressure of foreign competition upon the industries which employ our own labor, and that, therefore, free trade in trust-made goods would kill the trusts. I confess that I do not see how any man can contemplate such a remedy without at least a grave apprehension that disasters may be invited worse than the disease. I never hear that simple Democratic panacea for the trusts recommended without thinking of the advertising card of a traveling doctor, which I picked up the other day in a country hotel. It reads:

O. P. Vanderman, specialist in rheumatism and neuralgia. A sure cure in its most aggravated form.

I do not deny that free trade may be counted upon with reasonable certainty to cripple, if not to destroy, almost any industry which it comes in contact with. The whole world seems to understand that, for as we enter upon our Presidential campaign the ministers of the English Crown, awakened by the decay of the ancient crafts of the Kingdom, are preparing an appeal to the people for a revision of those sacred acts of Parliament which in the course of fifty years have left the Empire commercially dismembered and the home market itself glutted by the remnant sales of other nations.

Therefore, even if it could be shown that a trust has absorbed any given field of production, I would not counsel my countrymen to turn that field over to foreign countries for the purpose of exterminating that trust, for even if American capital has been so managed as to forfeit the consideration of our laws, the employment and wages

of American labor have still their claim upon the attention and good will of our Government.

There is only one sense in which the protective tariff can be held responsible for the trusts, and that is, that without the protective tariff there would have been fewer industries to combine and therefore fewer combinations. Further than that, the protective tariff has created the conditions, that unprecedented circulation of money in the hands of the people, without which the trust securities of our times could not have been even partly digested. So uniformly has the approach of our tariff law to the basis of free trade been accompanied by national poverty that its acceptance now might safely be relied upon to induce conditions which would effectually discourage the trust movement.

Seeing, then, that the protective tariff is responsible for the existence of some of the industries which have been organized into trusts and at the same time for the reintroduction among our people of the general use of money, without which these venturesome exploits of modern business would not have attracted the attention of either Doctor Jekyll, the banker, or Mr. Hyde, the caper, is it asking too much of the American people that they inquire with some care into that remedy for the abuses of the trust system which the protective tariff provides? For while it is true that out of the abundance of capital incident to these seven years of plenty the opportunity of the trust organizer has arisen, it is also true that this very abundance of capital in search of employment, offering itself in the market place where the law of competition has been fighting for its life, has completely vindicated the whole doctrine of protection.

THE REMEDY OF FREE TRADE.

Let us contrast for a moment the remedy of free trade with the remedy of protection in the case of some well-known American trusts. We may take up for example the National Salt Company, and I refer to that particularly because in the present session of Congress an absurd effort has been made to repeat the folly of 1894 by putting salt on the free list. At that time no salt trust existed in the United States, so that the Wilson bill simply expressed the unrestrained animosity of the Democratic party against a particular industry. Salt had been protected in the United States for over a century at a rate as high as it was then and often at a much higher rate. The industry dealt with one of the universal resources of the country, a resource which our fathers had sense enough to foster from the first act of the First Congress.

The difficulty which they had in getting salt to use, on account of disturbed conditions abroad, was the very thing which drew from Mr. Jefferson that manly and patriotic message confessing the mistake of his administration in departing from the counsel of his contemporaries in dealing with questions of trade, which was quoted very eloquently on this floor during the Cuban reciprocity debate by the junior Senator from Colorado. It appeared to Jefferson and to everybody who afterwards examined the question, whatever his politics, from that time down to the second election of Mr. Cleveland, that this industry could not be abandoned without damage to the public welfare. It remained for that Congress, dominated by the very men who are now inventing reassuring phrases of conservatism and prudence, with which to mask the battery of Democratic malice against the protective tariff system, to discover the necessity of putting salt on the free list.

They did it at a time when half the salt works of the country were idle and their managers turning frantically in all directions to sell their product in a stricken and helpless market place. They were not after the salt trust then; they were pursuing the salt industry; and so far as free importation could accomplish that result, they turned our market over, its capital and its labor alike, to the only salt trust then existing in the world—the British Salt Union, with its principal office in Liverpool—a trust which had monopolized the entire salt production of Great Britain. It may be that the Congress of 1894 knew more about the subject than all their predecessors and all those who have come after them, but I can not recollect anything in connection with their achievements that is likely to give currency to that view of their case.

THE NATIONAL SALT COMPANY,

commonly called the salt trust, was organized in the spring of 1899, and within a year had sufficiently monopolized the salt business of the country east of the Rocky Mountains to claim in its published reports 94 per cent. of the entire output of evaporated salt. It started out with a capital stock of \$12,000,000, five millions preferred, seven

millions common, all of it very damp. It had to do business in a market place protected by a tariff law which for over a century had operated to invite independent capital to embark in the industry; and the question the trust had to face was this: Would its size, its pretensions to monopoly, the mere swagger of its intoxicated capital prevent others from seeking the profits of that business?

In a sense the National Salt Company put the protective tariff system on trial. Less than five years have passed, but already the theory of protection has come out of that trial perfectly vindicated by the unanswerable finding of the market place. The salt industry does not require an exorbitant investment to carry it on with success; money sufficient to bore a hole in the ground and buy fuel enough to pump the water and heat it is all that is needed to start a salt factory wherever salt deposits are found. Is it any wonder, therefore, that the National Salt Company should have been compelled to add a new department to its business? A purchasing agent, to buy off competition; a performance so continuous that according to the decree of the court of equity that listened to their tale of woe in the State which gave them their charter, it reduced them from apparent solvency to unquestionable bankruptcy within a few months—liabilities one million five hundred thousand, assets three hundred thousand barrels of wet salt.

To complete this comedy of mismanagement, we are not surprised to see new promoters and new syndicates coming forward to gather up the remains, under the high-sounding name of "International Salt Company," with vague plans and specifications for bringing under one control the salt works of Canada, Italy, Spain, and Great Britain as well as of our own country. It is astounding that a sane man could be found, after the Lord has graciously located a reservoir of salt under the whole earth and an ocean of brine all around it, to give countenance to a proposition to supply the world with such a necessity of life, under the auspices of an international corporation which starts out with a bogus capital of \$12,000,000, a large portion of it set apart for the profit of an underwriting syndicate, and its visible resources pre-empted by an indebtedness of \$12,000,000, with neither a provision nor a prospect for even a preliminary payment of interest.

If there is room in our market place for a project like that why did the Post-Office Department issue a fraud order against the amiable clergyman who boiled a bushel of pumpkin seeds and began a profitable business career by advertising that while in the Holy Land he had secured a limited number of the seeds of the gourd mentioned in Sacred Writ and was willing to distribute them to devout persons at a dollar apiece? [Laughter.]

GLASS INDUSTRY.

I will refer again, by your permission, to the glass industry, a field of production which in the last few years has illustrated at once the facility with which trust combinations could be formed and at the same time the ease with which outside capital digs away their foundations and anticipates their final collapse.

Here is an industry which in all its departments is literally the child of the protective tariff. It could not exist at all on the basis of free trade, so that it may be admitted that if its products had been put upon the free list all the glass trusts would have disappeared, and with them nearly every vestige of the industry in the United States. If the tariff was the mother of the glass trusts, it has been a very careless and unnatural mother, for its standing invitation to American capital to embark in the business has never been withdrawn and has been so generally accepted that every effort to keep it in the hands of trusts has already ended in unmistakable failure. An honored member of this body, a successful manufacturer of glassware, operating a factory once connected with the United States Glass Company, permits me to call him as a witness to the swift descent of that institution from the domination of the trade to the premonitory symptoms of final dissolution. He managed to get his factory out of it in good time, and has had the satisfaction, as an independent manufacturer, of making good profits while the shareholders of the trust have waited in vain for their dividends.

Mr. SCOTT. They got one the other day, the first since 1891.

Mr. DOLLIVER. I do not begrudge it; since 1901 one dividend. A fate almost equally interesting has undertaken the other trusts that undertook to dip into the glassware business in the United States.

Notably the National Glass Company, organized in 1899 with nineteen plants. Its vital ailment, according to a recent writer, was a sort of corpulence which prevented

the trust from coping with less top-heavy competition, the same disability that qualifies the speed of a fat man in a foot race. And so, after five years, its constituent companies have fallen back, not under the anti-trust act but under the law of gravitation, to their original form, and the water-soaked millions of its capital have been sorrowfully laid away where they will have a chance to dry out.

AMERICAN WINDOW GLASS COMPANY.

Exactly the same tragedy has overtaken the American Window Glass Company. It capitalized the prospects of twenty-two separate plants in October, 1899, at \$17,000,000 and assumed control of ninety per cent. of the total window-glass product of the country. It went on the theory apparently, that it could depend upon the size of its capital to overawe the market place and gain for it the profits of a self-sufficient monopoly.

The trust took every precaution to strengthen its position. They overlooked only one thing, and that is that this is a world that does not allow for any length of time a dividend on \$17,000,000 for the transaction of a volume of business for which \$5,000,000 in cash will furnish equal facilities. If independent investors ever did tremble before the trust, they certainly never took counsel of their fears, for within five years the business has slipped out of the hands of the American Window Glass Company until now instead of making 90 per cent. and conceding to others 10, it makes only 10 per cent., and has been compelled to concede the other 90 to irreverent outsiders, who, under the broad invitation of the protective tariff, have felt free to embark in the business.

I have already alluded to the Pittsburg Plate Glass Company, which totally monopolized that product as early as 1895. To-day they have less than 50 per cent. of the productive capacity of the country, and while shortsighted men—some of them, I regret to say, Republicans—have been calling upon Congress to put plate glass upon the free list, the Dingley tariff law has called into existence seven well-equipped plate glass plants outside the trust and the magnificent new establishment now building at Kane, Pa., will make eight. Now I submit that if it is possible, as I have shown, to kill the glass trusts and at the same time to keep the industry alive and well, why should any man whose head is still doing business on its own account, seek to wipe them out by handing over their orders to our friends in Belgium, Germany, Austria, France, and England?

It would be easy if I could properly encroach on the time of the Senate to take up one after another the case of more than a score of once hopeful and enthusiastic trust combinations and study the behavior of the protective tariff in the fight which has been going on in the American market place against every unreasonable restraint of trade.

CONFLICT BETWEEN CAPITAL AND CAPITALIZATION.

Mr. President, we will quit talking one day about the conflict between capital and labor, for we all join in the hope that they are on the way toward a better understanding, even toward a treaty of permanent peace. But there is a conflict in which there can be no truce—the conflict between capital and capitalization—the earnings and the savings of labor against the coalition of the promoters and the engravers. We do not need to call on the old world to take the fight off of our hands. Independent American enterprise is equal to the strategy of our commercial defense.

A victory over the trusts won by enlisting the armies of the aliens against them is not an American victory. Such a victory would prostrate our market place in inconceivable disaster, in the midst of which labor and capital would suffer a common affliction. The victory which we seek—the only victory that can be of any value to the industrious millions of our people—is the victory of our own capital, fighting its battle under the protection of our own laws and sharing the fruits of its achievements with our own market place.

The experience through which we are passing has not, of course, been without its depressing effect upon business and commerce. But if the prosperity of our people were an artificial thing—if the American market place were not founded upon a rock—how could it have stood when these winds blew and these rains descended and these floods came?

The process of stripping the uniform from the militia captains of industry and dressing them up in citizens' clothes has not been entirely unattended with inconvenience, but looking at the whole country together the reconquest of the market place

by the reserve corps of American energy, that indefinable moral quality which claims the prerogative of signing its own name, has already justified the faith which our people from the beginning have had in the industrial system founded by our fathers. In its allegiance to that system the Republican party has not faltered for a moment. If there were doubts and fears and anxieties while the underwriting syndicates strutted their brief day upon the stage of our affairs they are all gone now.

We approach this Presidential campaign united in the bonds of our historic faith. We did not originate it; we inherited it from our fathers. When William McKinley died he left it as a rich legacy to us who followed him in the great triumphs of his public life. It was not a discovery of his. He got it from Abraham Lincoln, who got it from Henry Clay, who got it from Alexander Hamilton, who got it from Benjamin Franklin; so that our title is clear, our abstract perfect, without lien or incumbrance, running straight back to the original sources of American common sense.

WE LOOK FORWARD WITH HOPE TO THE PROGRESS OF OUR COMMERCE.

If changes are required to bring the tariff law of 1897 into a more perfect relation to the industrial progress of the American people, we propose to make them ourselves, whenever in our judgment the work can be undertaken without doing more harm than good; but we shall not consent to any change which surrenders the rights of American labor or the advantage which every man who makes a bona fide investment of his money in the United States ought to have over his competitors in other lands. We look forward with hope to the progress of our commerce from the river to the ends of the earth, but we do not forget that the statistics of our foreign trade have brought the most encouragement to our people in those exact periods when our own producers have been most perfectly guarded against the injurious approach of the outside world, and that the law of 1897 for the first time in our history has yielded us a favorable balance of our trade in manufactured goods.

We do not underestimate the value of the foreign market; but knowing how small it is, how small it always must be compared to the volume of our domestic business, we refuse to bargain that away, or put it in jeopardy for the sake of a dim and nebulous prospect of recouping our losses in the markets of the world.

We follow a leader who has enforced the laws of the land without favor and without fear, who has dared to utter the convictions that are in him with absolute reliance upon the integrity of his country and the good will of his countrymen. We do not know what the vicissitudes of the struggle may be; we do not presume to lift the veil of the future; but we are persuaded that the American people will not turn their backs upon the national policies for which Theodore Roosevelt stands, nor upon the lofty ideals of public duty with which, whatever his political fortunes may be, his name will be associated in the history of the United States.

APPENDIX.

[From the Wall Street Journal of Monday, October 26, 1903.]

THE SHRINKAGE IN 100 INDUSTRIALS—AMOUNTS TO \$1,733,959,790 FROM THE HIGH PRICES OF THE BOOM.

The leading industrial stocks of the country show a shrinkage of \$1,733,959,793 from the high prices of the boom to the recent low. The market value of 100 industrial stocks at the highest price at which each has sold during the past three years was \$4,090,047,450, and at the recent low price it was \$2,336,087,657, a loss in market value of 43.4 per cent.

The total capitalization of these stocks is \$3,693,410,837.

We present below a table comprising the highest price at which each of 100 industrials has sold during the past three years, with the recent low, and showing the total shrinkage on each. Not one of the stocks which we have taken show a shrinkage of less than \$1,000,000.

	Capital Stock.	High.	Low.	Shrinkage.
Allis-Chalmers.....	\$20,000,000	21	8	\$2,600,000
Amalgamated.....	155,000,000	130	33 $\frac{3}{4}$	149,381,250
Agricultural Chemical.....	16,715,600	35	11	4,011,744
Agricultural Chemical, preferred.....	17,153,000	91	69 $\frac{1}{2}$	3,731,078
American Bicycle, preferred.....	9,294,000	52	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	4,798,030
American Can.....	41,233,300	31 $\frac{1}{2}$	b3	11,751,491
American Can, preferred.....	41,233,300	80 $\frac{1}{2}$	28 $\frac{1}{2}$	21,441,316
American Car and Foundry.....	30,000,000	41 $\frac{1}{2}$	17 $\frac{1}{2}$	7,200,000
American Car and Foundry, preferred.....	30,000,000	93 $\frac{1}{2}$	61 $\frac{1}{2}$	9,637,500
American Cotton Oil.....	20,237,100	57 $\frac{1}{2}$	27 $\frac{1}{2}$	6,045,831
American Cotton Oil, preferred.....	10,198,600	100	82	1,835,748
American Hide and Leather.....	11,274,100	139 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	1,268,336
American Hide and Leather, preferred.....	12,548,300	43 $\frac{1}{2}$	10	4,208,681
American Ice.....	25,000,000	49 $\frac{1}{2}$	43 $\frac{1}{2}$	11,187,500
American Ice, preferred.....	15,000,000	78 $\frac{1}{2}$	19	8,925,000
American Linseed, preferred.....	16,750,000	66	28	6,365,000
American Locomotive.....	25,000,000	367 $\frac{1}{2}$	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	6,593,70
American Locomotive, preferred.....	24,100,000	100 $\frac{1}{2}$	67 $\frac{1}{2}$	7,892,750
American Malt, preferred.....	14,440,000	31 $\frac{1}{2}$	15	2,382,600
American Shipbuilding.....	7,600,000	63	28	2,680,000
American Smelting and Refining.....	50,000,000	69	36 $\frac{1}{2}$	16,125,000
American Smelting and Refining, preferred.....	50,000,000	105	80 $\frac{1}{2}$	12,625,000
American Snuff.....	11,001,700	135	10	4,950,765
American Snuff, preferred.....	12,000,000	101	80	2,520,000
American Steel Foundry.....	15,000,000	15	5	1,500,000
American Steel Foundry, preferred.....	15,500,000	70	48	3,410,000
American Sugar Refinery.....	45,000,000	153	107 $\frac{1}{2}$	20,640,000
American Sugar, preferred.....	45,000,000	130	116 $\frac{1}{2}$	6,240,000
American Telegraph and Telephone.....	109,685,000	186	114 $\frac{1}{2}$	78,424,780
American Tobacco, preferred.....	14,000,000	151 $\frac{1}{2}$	130	3,010,000
American Woolen, offered.....	20,000,000	82 $\frac{1}{2}$	65	8,550,000
American Writing Paper, preferred.....	9,500,000	25 $\frac{1}{2}$	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1,436,875
Anaconda.....	430,000,000	53	16	22,200,000
Cambria Steel.....	45,000,000	29 $\frac{1}{2}$	18 $\frac{1}{2}$	9,337,500
Calumet and Hecla.....	42,500,000	860	430	43,000,000
Colorado Fuel and Iron.....	24,000,000	136 $\frac{1}{2}$	25	26,760,000
Commercial Cable.....	13,333,300	189	149 $\frac{1}{4}$	5,299,987
Consolidated Gas.....	73,000,000	238	170	49,640,000
Consolidated Lake Superior.....	73,961,500	50	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	36,426,039
Consolidated Lake Superior, preferred.....	27,406,500	80 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	21,308,554
Continental Tobacco, preferred.....	46,846,100	126 $\frac{1}{2}$	98	13,921,139
Corn Products.....	44,869,255	385 $\frac{1}{2}$	22	7,515,600
Corn Products, preferred.....	27,362,750	90	73	4,652,688
Crucible Steel.....	25,000,000	277 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	5,687,500
Diamond Match.....	15,000,000	152 $\frac{1}{2}$	129	3,525,000
Dist. Securities.....	27,927,777	33	20 $\frac{1}{2}$	9,770,250
Copper Range Consolidated.....	28,500,000	83	42 $\frac{1}{2}$	11,756,250
Domestic Iron and Steel.....	20,000,000	79 $\frac{1}{2}$	7	14,575,000
Electric Vehicle.....	10,450,000	70	5	6,792,500
Electric Vehicle, preferred.....	8,125,000	90	8	6,662,500
General Electric.....	41,937,100	195	139	23,495,970
International Merchant Marine.....	48,000,000	21	4	8,160,000
International Merchant Marine, preferred.....	52,000,000	50	15	18,200,000
International Paper.....	17,422,000	28	109 $\frac{1}{2}$	3,070,630
International Paper, preferred.....	22,406,700	81 $\frac{1}{2}$	60	4,817,440
International Power.....	5,047,000	199	293 $\frac{1}{4}$	8,542,048
International Steam Pump.....	12,262,500	57 $\frac{1}{2}$	33	2,973,656
International Steam Pump, preferred.....	8,850,000	95	70	2,212,500
Lehigh Coal and Navigation.....	615,801,300	79 $\frac{1}{2}$	663	5,298,437

	Capital. Stock.	High.	Low.	Shrinkage.
Massachusetts Gas.....	\$15,000,000	423 ¹ / ₈	81	\$1,706,250
Massachusetts Gas, preferred.....	15,000,000	84 ¹ / ₄	7 ³ / ₈	1,831,250
Mergenthaler.....	10,000,000	180	170	2,000,000
National Biscuit.....	29,236,000	551 ¹ / ₄	32	6,812,656
National Biscuit, preferred.....	28,825,100	108 ¹ / ₂	94	3,692,913
National Lead.....	14,905,400	82	11 ¹ / ₂	1,565,067
National Lead, preferred.....	14,904,000	106 ¹ / ₂	75	4,694,760
Pennsylvania Steel, preferred.....	16,500,000	105	648	3,405,000
People's Gas.....	32,069,100	111 ¹ / ₂	89	7,418,048
Pittsburg Coal.....	32,000,000	85 ¹ / ₈	21	4,520,000
Pittsburg Coal, preferred.....	29,701,200	99 ¹ / ₄	67 ¹ / ₂	9,480,131
Pressed Steel Car.....	12,500,000	65 ¹ / ₄	28	4,656,250
Pressed Steel Car, preferred.....	12,500,000	96 ¹ / ₂	67	3,687,500
Republic Iron and Steel.....	27,191,000	27 ¹ / ₂	7 ¹ / ₄	5,506,174
Republic Iron and Steel, preferred.....	20,356,900	83 ¹ / ₈	54 ¹ / ₂	5,878,058
Rubber Goods Manufacturing.....	16,941,700	38 ¹ / ₄	13 ³ / ₄	4,150,717
Rubber Goods Manufacturing, preferred.....	8,051,400	80	70	1,610,280
Standard Oil.....	97,500,000	830	580	243,750,000
Swift & Company.....	25,000,000	177 ¹ / ₂	100 ¹ / ₄	19,312,500
Tennessee Coal and Iron.....	22,801,600	104	26 ¹ / ₄	17,728,244
Union Bag and Paper.....	16,000,000	25	4 ¹ / ₂	3,440,000
Union Bag and Paper, preferred.....	11,000,000	45	65	2,200,400
Union Typewriter.....	10,000,000	132	93	3,900,000
United Bag Bd and P, preferred.....	11,418,000	71	18	6,051,540
United Fruit.....	12,369,500	127	93	5,442,580
Un. Gas Imp.....	628,125,000	126	77	27,562,500
Un. Shoe Mach.....	610,720,300	57 ¹ / ₄	38 ³ / ₄	7,933,022
U. S. Leather.....	62,882,300	19	6 ¹ / ₈	7,761,685
U. S. Leather Realty, preferred.....	62,282,300	96 ¹ / ₄	71 ¹ / ₈	15,726,251
U. S. Realty & C.....	33,198,000	32	51 ¹ / ₂	8,879,715
U. S. Realty & C, preferred.....	27,011,100	75 ¹ / ₂	35 ¹ / ₂	10,804,440
U. S. Rubber.....	23,666,000	44	7 ¹ / ₄	8,573,925
U. S. Rubber, preferred.....	23,523,500	104 ³ / ₄	35	16,409,037
United States Steel.....	508,495,200	65	12 ¹ / ₂	216,110,400
United States Steel, preferred.....	430,000,000	101 ¹ / ₂	57 ¹ / ₂	191,000,000
Virginia Car Chemical.....	27,884,400	76 ¹ / ₈	17 ¹ / ₂	16,475,819
Virginia Car Chemical, preferred.....	12,000,000	134 ¹ / ₈	90	5,385,000
Western Telegraph and Telephone.....	16,000,000	33 ¹ / ₂	10	3,760,000
Western Telegraph and Telephone, preferred.....	16,000,000	106 ¹ / ₂	71	5,680,000
Western Union.....	97,340,504	100 ¹ / ₄	80 ¹ / ₂	19,224,750
Westinghouse.....	14,016,551	233	130	14,437,048

a \$25 par.

b \$50 par.

In United States Steel preferred we have allowed for the amount converted into bonds. We have not included the \$10,000,000 each of common and preferred issued by the Massachusetts Gas companies last January. We have taken one-half of the shrinkage of Anaconda, as Amalgamated holds one-half of the Anaconda stock, and the shrinkage of that appears in the figures for Amalgamated.

The shrinkage in Colorado Fuel and Iron, Calumet and Hecla, Anaconda, International Power, Standard Oil, and Westinghouse is in each case more than the par value of the capital stock, and in Amalgamated and United Gas Improvement nearly equal to it.

The \$20,000,000 preferred and \$25,000,000 common of United States Shipbuilding are not included owing to the fact that there has never been any market for them.

It has been estimated that the capitalization of the industrial corporations of the United States, aside from the gas and electric companies, is \$8,000,000,000. All of these have sustained some shrinkage, but the percentage would probably not be as large on the whole number as it is on those we have taken above, because the stocks we have not included are largely inactive, more closely held, and less subject to general market influences.

No. 7.

"Out of the ruins of that time we have built up the shining edifice of prosperity and 'scattered laughter with a spendthrift hand.' And yet nothing has happened—nothing but a Republican Administration."

SPEECH

OF

Hon. EDWARD L. HAMILTON

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

THURSDAY, APRIL 14, 1904



SPEECH OF
HON. EDWARD L. HAMILTON
OF MICHIGAN

By our last national census we have moved our center of population a little nearer Columbus, Ind., and incidentally increased the numerical size of Congress.

By that census it appears that within twenty years, from 1880 to 1900, our national wealth was increased from forty-two to ninety-four billion dollars, our wealth per capita from \$850 to \$1,236, the value of our farms and farm property from twelve to twenty and a half billion dollars, the number of our factories from 253,000 to 513,000, while our public debt has been decreased one-fourth, notwithstanding the expenses of our war with Spain.

These figures are not the rosy recitation of partisan optimism, but are the cold appraisal of adding machines operating under civil-service rules.

What these figures do not show, however, is that apparently the more prosperous we are the more trouble we are having among ourselves about the proceeds of our prosperity. This trouble is not a mere surface manifestation, but profoundly affects our national life, inasmuch as it involves the ability of man to govern himself in a state of organized society.

We separated from England and have ever since been doing business on the theory which we have not always practiced, that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.

Forced by the law of industrial evolution, railroads, steamships, telegraphs, telephones, farms, and factories—all the means of communication, transmutation, production, and exchange are being geared together into one stupendous engine, which is also geared to political policies, and going about, in it, of it, and a part of it, are the human intelligences which run it and are run by it.

If labor complains that capital has set pace makers for it in its factories, still it is true that both labor and capital have set pace makers for themselves in the un-resting march of a hurrying civilization, the up grade or the down grade of which depends upon their own wisdom and self-restraint.

THE LEAN AND THE FAT YEARS.

For seven years, under the Administrations of William McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt, labor and capital have been prosperous, with practically no interruption except the interruptions of their mutual differences.

Eight years ago the Republican party marshaled its hosts in the shadow of industrial depression—in the shadow of closed factories and suspended banks.

We were running in debt then at every tick of the clock, accumulating an overdraft in our Treasury, fed by selling bonds and drained by an endless chain, recruiting Coxey's army and reading Coin's Financial School.

The years were lean and the earth was lean, and lean-faced men as night came on came out of their hiding places in the alleys of depression and lifted up strange voices on the curb and in the deserted market places, preaching the doctrine of discontent and "larding the lean earth" with promises of things to be gained by depreciated money and national dishonesty. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Then no man trusted his neighbor if he could help it. A man with a dollar ahead refused to loan money to his neighbor on a first mortgage because, first, he was afraid of being called a plutocrat; second, because he was afraid his neighbor would pay him in depreciated money, and, third, because he was afraid his security would vanish away.

Out of the ruins of that time we have built up the shining edifice of prosperity and "scattered laughter with a spendthrift hand." And yet nothing has happened—nothing but a Republican Administration.

There is something about the Republican party that sends things up above par, and something about the Opposition that sends things down below par. Above par is sunlight, summer, hope, and plenty. Above par is the firelight dancing on the walls of contentment to the song of the kettle singing on the hearth of Plenty. Below par Hunger and Want and Bankruptcy sit brooding by dead ashes, while the candle of life gutters down to the shape of a winding sheet. [Applause on the Republican side.]

It is possible to go below par again. A very little ballot in the hands of a very small majority will do it.

Now, from the offices of stock jobbery to the heights of political economy, it is everywhere apparent that we are prosperous.

APPORTIONING THE CREDIT.

Gentlemen on the other side express divergent views as to the cause of it.

Some deny it in the midst of it, with the proceeds of it on their persons.

Some say it is just the natural reaction from hard times to good times, but it is a singular coincidence that we always have a reaction from hard times to good times when the Republican party goes into power.

Some, while drawing rations from the Republican commissary of prosperity, concede it, profit by it, and criticise its quality; and some, more modest than Aesop's fly on the wheel, say they did it themselves indirectly.

I have noticed that geese always bow their heads when entering a barn door, having an erroneous impression as to their own height. [Applause.]

Of course, if they have done it at all they have done it indirectly, and if they have done it indirectly while out of office it is more than they have done directly while in office, and this suggests an admirable arrangement for the future which ought to appeal to the patriotism of our friends whereby they may continue to cooperate indefinitely, indirectly externally for the prosperity of our country. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Some say, however, that our prosperity is only "apparent prosperity." If this be true, then our average annual balance of trade for the last three years of \$513,000,000 is only an apparent balance of trade, and the deposit of \$2,935,204,845 in the savings banks of our country, for the most part deposited by labor—an increase of \$185,027,555 over a year ago—is only an apparent savings deposit, and the \$3,000,000,000 pay roll of 6,000,000 people employed in 513,000 factories, having an annual output of \$13,000,000,000 is the "insubstantial pageant" of an optimistic dream. [Applause on the Republican side.]

UNREST.

Our prosperity is real enough, but running like a ground discord through the hum of our industry there has been and is an undertone of discontent which breaks out here and there in strikes, violence, and mutual recrimination between labor and capital, to their injury and the injury of our whole population.

National unrest does not necessarily mean national injury, but rather the contrary.

The history of every progressive nation is the history of progressive unrest.

No civilization can be said to be at rest unless it be a stagnant civilization.

In our own case unprecedented prosperity has forced employers into active competition for labor to keep their plants running, and labor, keenly alive to its opportunity, has been pushing for a larger share of the profit it helps to make.

Of course, ideally speaking, labor ought to recognize the limitations of capital and capital ought to recognize the rights of labor, and there ought to be mutual understanding and mutual forbearance, but there is not—the millennium has not yet arrived, and this results in union against union, boycott against boycott, injunction against injunction, while outside the lines of organized labor and organized capital is the great body of American consumers, of whom both labor and capital are also parts, which is vitally interested in all that affects them and in the long run pays the bills.

Having to pay the bills, the consumer feels an interest in how the money is spent.

TRANSITION.

The latest form of capital is the so-called trust, and the latest form of labor is the national and international labor union, and the present situation is the latest phase in America of a long controversy whereby both labor and capital have reluctantly at times advanced to higher humanitarianism.

Gentlemen say we are in a transition period, but humanity has always been in transition ever since some primeval man opened his cave factory for the making of chipped flints and hand-made pottery, which he exchanged with his neighbors for what they killed in the chase.

* * * * * * *

NO MORE NEW WORLDS.

The surface of things changes, but human nature continues to do business under the crust.

Probably speculation is no more adventurous and monopoly no more grasping now than in the days of John Law and the Mississippi bubble, but they average bigger and it is harder to get away from them.

There are no more undiscovered countries, no more lands of crusade, pilgrimage, or mystery.

Science finds an El Dorado now in some abandoned dump of yesterday.

We have pushed our frontier, which used to be at the doors of a few rough settlements, gnawing indentations along the Atlantic seaboard wilderness, around the world to the doors of the oldest civilization.

The byways run to the highways, the highways run to the railways, and the railways run to the sea, which unites the nations which it divides.

We run cog roads up to the altitude of eternal snows, where the stillness of ages is broken by the patronizing chatter of tourists on their way around the world in eighty days.

We sink our mining shafts a mile underground, and wherever we go we find advertised some enterprising, machine-made thing to remind us that we live in a world of business and indigestion. [Laughter and applause.]

FROM INDIVIDUALISM TO CENTRALIZATION.

Men used to feel that when they got tired working for some one else for board and clothes they could go West, settle on a quarter section of land somewhere, and grow up with the country. Whatever else we lacked, we had plenty of land.

Down to fifty years ago we were largely producers of raw material. On the farm in the West the "hired man" generally became a landowner.

Outside the more thickly settled centers the chief artisans were millers, blacksmiths, carpenters, and cobblers, while art and the professions were represented by the village fiddler, the parson, the doctor, and an occasional lawyer.

There were log rollings, barn raisings, corn huskings, and quilting bees, and people were gauged by what they were more than by what they owned.

Then railroads came along, built by the grant of alternate sections of land, and social distinctions began to creep in, expressed in terms of money.

Men moved into new houses out of old ones built by their neighbors in the earlier days of mutual helpfulness.

In the graveyard some people's tombstones began to be better than others, while down at the grocery some folks began to talk about the money power.

Towns grew cities where increased transportation fostered increased centralization, culminating in department stores.

DEMAND AND SUPPLY OF VARIOUS KINDS OF TALENT.

We have arranged it so that a clever writer draws a salary of \$40,000 a year, and a jockey who can steer a horse first down the stretch draws \$40,000 in a season and becomes an international figure, and a pugilist of brawn, a graceful dancer, a melodious singer, or an actress with a past can capitalize a solar-plexus blow, a song, a dance, or a sex problem play into the price of a 40-acre farm every night. [Applause.]

Of course we are not producing many Hawthornes, Emersons, Longfellows, Motleys, and Prescotts nowadays, but we are producing such men as Fiske, Parkman, McMaster, and Edison, who are greater in their way than any who have gone before; and we are producing American journalism which is the most enterprising, energetic, and extraordinary thing ever evolved out of type, and we are producing some tons of historic novels; and from all the strands of humor, pathos, comedy, and tragedy spun by this "roaring loom of time" some master hand shall some day gather up and weave together the world's greatest literary production.

ORGANIZED LABOR AND BROADER HUMANITARIANISM.

When our fathers wrote, "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men were created equal; that they were endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed," they theorized splendidly, but it remained for generations some years removed to put their theories into practice.

For a long time the government which they organized distrusted democracy and derived its powers from the rich and the well-to-do; and the poor man, the "redeptioner," and the slave were governed without their consent in a government which denied them liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and treated their "unalienable rights" as "rubbish in the meeting of the winds."

In the first quarter of the nineteenth century there were few or no American labor organizations, and the thousands of railroads, and factories run by great corporations, which now employ five times as many men and women as lived in the colonies when we became a nation, are creations of our own time.

As industries began to centralize, business became more and more wholesale, impersonal and mechanical.

Federated plants began to be managed by salaried intermediaries who were required to produce the highest possible results at the lowest possible expense and personal relations between employers and employes began to disappear.

About 1825 labor began to be more conscious of itself as a distinct entity, and labor unions began to be formed.

Local unions increased in number and gradually, as means of transportation and communication increased labor began to organize itself into national unions and to think of political action as a means of social betterment.

There were strikes, a Labor party, a Reform party, an Antimonopoly party, indictments of trade unions for conspiracy, and fights between union and non-union men as early as the decade between 1830 and 1840.

In those days the laboring man rightly wanted shorter days and better pay, and he wanted his pay in good money at stated intervals instead of now and then at the option of his employer, and he wanted a lien for his pay on the products of his work.

He works eight and ten hours now instead of twelve and fifteen then. He gets his pay in good money now, although he came near lapsing into bad money in 1896, and labor laws are framed for his protection.

These rational demands, though regarded as revolutionary then, are rights which the humblest of us take as a matter of course now.

He wanted a better educational system then, the right to vote without property qualification, and the repeal of laws providing imprisonment for debt.

Then "no crime known to the law brought so many to the jails and prisons as the crime of debt."

If a laborer was taken sick or fell from a scaffold and suffered an injury, he was liable to be arrested in the first stages of his convalescence and sent to jail for the expenses of his sickness.

To be sent to prison then was to be sent to pits and dungeons which were seminaries of vice and centers of disease, where "prostitutes plied their calling openly in the presence of men and women guilty of no crime but inability to pay their debts," and where "the treadmill was always going, the pillory and the stocks were never empty, the shears, the branding iron, and the lash were never idle for a day."

As late as 1829 it is estimated that Massachusetts had 3,000 persons imprisoned for debt, Maryland 3,000, New York 10,000, and Pennsylvania 7,000, many of them for debts lower than \$1.

Now, the ballot in the hands of an American citizen is a share of stock without property qualification in a Government which has "expended fabulous sums in the erection of reformatories, asylums, penitentiaries, houses of correction, houses of refuge, and houses of detention all over the land; which has furnished every State prison with a library, with a hospital, with workshops, and with schools," and the American school is the best school on earth, and the American flag floating over it is the best flag on earth, and if any man born on foreign soil is disposed to deny this, why did he come here? [Loud applause.]

CHILD LABOR AND SWEAT SHOPS.

But in the eternal ferment of forces, which we call evolution, there are no stopping places. There are relay stations, but no stopping places.

Notwithstanding the fact that we have the best common school system in the world, and not withstanding the fact that "the children of a nation are its greatest undeveloped resource," it appears that in the United States in the year 1900 there were 1,752,187 children between the ages of 10 and 15 years employed in so-called "gainful occupations."

The starting of little boys and girls upon the eternal treadmill of work at the age when they ought to be started to school, and working them not only days but nights during the few short years when, if ever humanity ought to be free from care; the turning of the natural joy of childhood into the premature gravity of age; the coining of the dwarfed bodies of little children into dollars and cents, is a crime without extenuation, out of joint with an age which has organized compassion for "a galled horse or a dog run over at a street crossing." [Applause.]

Then, too, notwithstanding the fact that humanitarianism is reforming prisons, unreformed humanity is keeping them full.

And notwithstanding the fact that we have reformed reformatories, lighted dark places, and drained low places in society generally, there are still a good many places, high and low, to be lighted, drained, and ventilated, and among them are sweat shops, where things are made cheap in an unventilated atmosphere of cheapness until fabrics wrought by the fingers of squalor transmit the very microbes of diseased cheapness. [Applause.]

But these reforms are under way, and they are only parts of a profound reorganization of society which is steadily going on, of which the so-called labor movement is a part.

Granted that some labor unions have misunderstood and misused the nobler purposes of their organization; granted that the labor movement, like other movements, has in it a certain percentage of demagogues, who are in it for what they can get out of it; granted that there are blackmailing walking delegates, who are false to their unions and paid tools of corporate combines for the suppression of rivals; still the labor movement, in its broad intent and wide significance, has been and is the organized struggle of the great mass of humanity for better conditions.

This struggle of labor, however has not been the struggle of labor alone. At every step it has had the cooperation of broad-minded men, without regard to wealth or occupation, and if at any time in any movement it shall find itself deprived of such cooperation it may well doubt the propriety of such movement.

* * * * *

LABOR IN ITS RELATION TO PROTECTION.

If there is any one idea to which a majority of these elements attach themselves now that they have ceased to rally round "the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the ratio of 16 to 1 without the aid or consent of any other nation on earth," it is that protection is wrong.

For years the Republican party has materialized in practice the profound truth lately expressed by Mr. Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, at Boston, that "no industry, no country, has ever become great or ever can become great, founded on the poverty of its workers." [Applause on the Republican side.]

In its policy of protection to American labor and American industries one of the strongest arguments of the Republican party has always been the labor argument.

That is, first, if a foreign-made commodity can be laid down in American markets cheaper than a homemade commodity by reason of cheaper wages abroad, then we ought to maintain a tariff to equalize labor conditions here and abroad and protect American labor.

Second. If by protection we can produce a commodity which we are not producing, we ought to maintain a tariff to create and foster the production of that commodity.

Third. That behind protection existing industries have been multiplied and new industries have been created which, by competition among themselves have reduced the price of commodities even below the tariff imposed, so that from the vantage ground of a protected market we are not only supplying our home market, but are shipping a surplus abroad, whereby we have sustained the wages of labor at home, multiplied employment, stimulated invention, increased the purchasing power of every American, given the American farmer a constantly increasing market at his door, and made the American man the best all-round man that walks the earth to-day. [Applause on the Republican side.]

PROTECTION AND PROSPERITY.

The history of protection is a history of prosperity. The history of free trade or approximate free trade is a history of depression.

The first tariff act was reported to the first Congress of the United States by James Madison, construed and upheld by the framers of the Constitution, and signed by George Washington July 4, 1789.

It was increased by twelve separate enactments down to the war of 1812, when it was doubled.

From 1816 to 1824 there was depression of tariff, depression of trade, and hard times, relieved by the tariff of 1824, which was raised by the tariff of 1828.

Clay's compromise ten-year sliding-scale tariff of 1833 slid into the panic of 1837; but conditions were repaired by the tariff of 1842.

In 1846 we had the Walker free-trade tariff, but disaster was averted by the war with Mexico, putting large sums in circulation, famine in Ireland calling for large shipments, the finding of gold in California, the Crimean war, revolution in Europe, and by reflex action prosperity here, until at last prosperity from accident ceased and we fell into the panic of 1857.

Since 1861 we have had protection, except during the period of panic under the Wilson-Gorman law, from 1893 to 1897, when we had something else.

In the presence of this history the banana theory of the gentleman from Mississippi is the most irresistible thing in the way of logic since Thompson's colt swam the river to drink.

And his definition of protection as "a system of taxation whereby labor and capital are deflected from naturally profitable pursuits into channels of naturally unprofitable pursuits," stands refuted by a mere recital of industrial history, whereby it appears that not only have labor and capital not been "deflected" from "naturally profitable pursuits," but have availed themselves of all "naturally profitable pursuits," and in addition thereto, under protection, have turned unprofitable pursuits into profitable pursuits, to their mutual advantage and the advantage of our whole population.

From the first tariff law down to now, when, with the railroads of the United States we could put a girdle around the globe at the equator, have enough left to parallel the railroads of Europe, and keep their tracks hot with the traffic of our prosperity, there has never been a time when American capital and American labor have been "deflected" from any profitable pursuit, except when the Democratic party has been in power. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Mr. Chamberlain, of England, has also recently described protection. In his Glasgow speech, October 6 last he says:

"Now what is the history of protection? First, there is tariff and no industries. Then gradually primary industries for which the country has natural facilities grow

up behind the tariff wall. Then secondary industries spring up; first of necessities, then of luxuries, until at last all the ground is covered."

I put this description over against that of the gentleman from Mississippi.

"First the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear."

PROTECTION AND MANHOOD.

In this connection Mr. Chamberlain further said:

The vast majority of the workmen in the colonies are protectionists, and I am disinclined to accept the easy explanation that they are all fools.

In its policy of protection to American labor and American industries the Republican party has always held the quality of American manhood above the cost of a fabric, and in the long run this policy has not only dignified American labor, but has reduced the cost of commodities to the point where the humblest artisan of to-day can commonly have the things which the wealth of kings could not command a few years ago. Not only that, but this policy has put money into the pockets of labor with which to buy these things. [Applause.]

Not only that, but the capitalist of to-day was a laborer yesterday. Here under the Stars and Stripes, a boy may dream of a future and realize it sometime, and a lowly start in life only lends lustre to an honorable career, except among a certain self-selected set, who sit around under genealogical trees suffering from dry rot.

America has gained its place in the commerce of the world largely because of the intelligence of American workmen, working under protection unrestrained by rules limiting his energy and ambition.

In this explanation foreigners themselves concur.

In the fall of 1902 the Moseley commission of British experts, representing twenty-one trades, came here to investigate industrial conditions, and among other things they reported:

- First. That American boys are better educated than English boys.

- Second. That the American workingman has better habits and is better housed, clothed, and fed than the English workingman.

- Third. That American factories are better equipped with better machinery, with which American workmen can do more and better work.

- Fourth. That the American workingman works more hours a day, gets the benefit of all he can do at piecework, welcomes new machinery as a rule, and is encouraged and rewarded for invention.

PLUTOCRACY.

Because the Republican party is the party of protection and three square meals a day, gentlemen on the other side have allowed themselves to get into the habit of calling us the "party of plutocracy," and they have decorated some of our leaders with dollar marks, and horns, and hoofs, and a smell of sulphur.

There is a good deal of political hypocrisy about this custom of yours.

So far as I have been able to observe, acquisitiveness is just about as acquisitive in the Democratic party as it is in the Republican party.

If there is really any impropriety in prosperity, and any of you are hard enough up to cast the first stone, there are several shining marks in your own party from whom according to the testimony of some of your leaders who have lately turned States evidence, you have actually collected campaign funds. [Laughter.]

It does not necessarily follow, it seems to me, that because Dives went to hell everybody who is well off must go to hell; and it does not necessarily follow that because Lazarus went to Abraham's bosom all poverty will congregate in Abraham's bosom; and it does not necessarily follow that any political party will be exclusively represented in either place.

John Mitchell told the truth to the miners at Pittsburg, Kansas, when he said:

None of us is poor because he wants to be. There is not one of us but would be willing to accumulate wealth and become a capitalist if he could do so honorably.

And so far as the gentlemen on the other side are concerned, I haven't the slightest doubt that if they actually believed what they talk—that to be a Republican is to have the Midas touch—there wouldn't be a man left in the Democratic party in twenty-four hours. [Laughter.]

TRUSTS.

Another thing, you gentlemen charge the Republican party with being the party of trusts, and you say that more trusts were organized under the Administrations of William McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt than ever before in the history of our government, and you say that trusts so organized are protected under the Republican policy of protection, and that trusts so organized are selling their goods cheaper abroad than at home.

The only trouble with this is that two-thirds of it is not true, and the rest is incorrect. [Laughter.]

No trusts were organized under the Administration of William McKinley or Theodore Roosevelt, and no trusts have ever been organized under any other Federal Administration, and there has never been any Federal law under which any trust could be organized.

The word "trust" in its original commercial application was used to define an arrangement among stockholders of various corporations whereby shares of stock were assigned to trustees, who issued trust certificates in lieu thereof and apportioned dividends and losses thereon.

But trusts so organized were never incorporated, but were driven from their trust formation by statutes and court decisions and forced to take refuge by incorporation under the laws of various States which have statutes especially framed to invite their formation.

These corporations so formed are generally composed of several merged industries, the merger being effected by the organization of a corporation and the conveyance to the corporation so organized of the real and personal property of the merged industries and the issue of stock thereon.

They may have their offices where they please and their factories where they please, and by virtue of "State comity" trade all over the rest of the Union, subject to the regulations of the various States, which are themselves in turn restrained by the fourteenth amendment and subject to the power of Congress to regulate commerce among the States.

When the Constitution was adopted, "the powers not delegated to the Federal Government by the Constitution or prohibited by it to the States" were reserved to the States or the people. These are the so-called reserved rights of States.

By the Constitution Congress is given power to regulate commerce "among the several States," not "in" the several States. Therefore Congress must stop short at State boundaries in the regulation of commerce and can not reach over and interfere with the so-called reserved rights of States, except that while it is true that Congress may not regulate and control the organization and internal management of corporations organized under the laws of States, still, as was lately held in the Northern Securities Company case, "every corporation created by a State is necessarily subject to the supreme law of the land"—that is, the Constitution and laws passed by Congress pursuant thereto—and can not interfere with the free course of trade and commerce among the States.

At the first session of the Fifty-sixth Congress we tried to submit a resolution to the people providing for an amendment to the Constitution permitting the Federal Government to follow, regulate, and control corporations generally, but it takes two-thirds of Congress to do that, our Democratic friends refused to vote for it, and it failed.

Failing in that, in the second session of the Fifty-seventh Congress we passed (1) a law providing for a Department of Commerce and Labor, with a Commissioner of Corporations charged with the supervision of corporations engaged in interstate commerce, also providing for corporate publicity.

(2) Inasmuch as it is no use to manufacture if you can not get your product to the consumer, and inasmuch as it had been for some time the cause of just complaint that railroad companies, endowed with the power of eminent domain, whose duty it is to serve the public impartially, had been giving preferential freight rates to preferred shippers, whereby shippers so preferred were strengthened into monopolies, arbitrarily

fixing prices to buyers and sellers and driving competitors out of business, we passed the anti-rebate law, which prohibits under penalty the giving, demanding, or receiving of preferences and provides the preventive remedy of injunction.

(3) We also passed a law to "expedite the hearing and determination of suits in equity" under the anti-trust law, and under this law to expedite hearings the Northern Securities case "came on to be heard."

The only anti-trust law on the Federal statute books bears the name of a Republican Senator. The law creating an Interstate Commerce Commission bears the name of another Republican Senator and all the law is being enforced by a Republican President.

REMOVAL OF TARIFF NOT THE REMEDY FOR TRUSTS.

But gentlemen insist that trusts are fostered under the policy of protection and that the way to remove trusts is to remove the tariff.

It is not true that trusts are fostered by protection except in the sense that protection makes good times, and when times are good they are good for everybody. If it be true that when times are good they are good for everybody, the converse must be true, that when times are bad they are bad for everybody, and if to discipline trusts it is necessary to make times bad for everybody, it is not unlikely that those least able to bear it would suffer most.

Laying aside the fact that trusts are organized under English free trade as well as German, Austrian, and American protection, it is susceptible of absolute demonstration that American free trade would operate in the interest of trusts and against the interest of American labor.

It appears by the Twelfth Census that only 12.8 per cent. of the total manufactured output of the United States is made by trusts; that only 8.13 per cent. of the food supply of the United States is controlled by trusts, and that only 7.5 per cent. of the labor employed in manufacturing is employed by trusts, and the word "trust" as here employed is used to mean all corporations organized in recent years. Since the taking of the last census, however, it appears that the capitalization of combinations which culminated in the year 1901 is rapidly falling off.

Now if it is true that only 12.8 per cent. of the manufactured output of the United States is trust made, then the remaining 87.2 per cent. is made by competing independent industries.

And if it be true that only 7.5 per cent. of the labor employed in manufacturing industries is employed by trusts, then the remaining 92.5 per cent. of labor employed in manufacturing is employed by competing, independent industries. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Therefore, if you remove the duty from the 12.8 per cent. of trust-made products you remove it from the remaining 87.2 per cent. of products made by competing, independent industries employing 92.5 per cent. of all the labor employed in manufacturing industries in the United States; and inasmuch as the weak would probably go to the wall first, trusts which would then be given the benefit of free raw material would remain and not only dictate terms to labor, which would then be seeking employment in a crowded labor market, but would dictate terms to consumers, provided they themselves were able to survive competition with the trusts of Europe.

This would at least be a temporary solution of the labor and capital controversy, but it would be like making a desert and calling it peace.

RECIPROCITY.

When the golden rule becomes international law and other nations open their markets to us without duty; when other nations come up to our standard, not when we go down to theirs—then will be time enough for us to think about opening our ports to other nations without duty; not till then.

That would be the reciprocity of international free trade.

But, obviously, free trade, which gives away our markets in advance and leaves us nothing to exchange, is not reciprocity.

In his last speech, at Buffalo, which is to be read and construed in connection with his whole political career, William McKinley said:

Reciprocity treaties are in harmony with the spirit of the times. If some of our tariffs are no longer needed for revenue or to encourage and protect our industries at home, why should they not be employed to extend and promote our markets abroad?

Certainly; why not? "If some of our tariffs are no longer needed for revenue or to encourage and protect our industries at home," why not?

The Blaine theory of reciprocity was reciprocity in things the like of which we do not grow or produce.

Reciprocity is an exchange of markets. Neither men nor nations trade things or markets without the hope of gain by the exchange.

When men trade horses they do not knowingly trade clean limbs for spavins, and sensible nations do not trade markets to the disadvantage of their own people.

The American market belongs to American capital and American labor, American producers and American consumers, American buyers and American sellers; and a government of all the people has no right to displace American industries, giving employment to American capital and American labor, furnishing markets for American farmers, and building up American homes, and substitute therefor foreign industries, employing foreign labor and foreign capital and withdrawing American capital from the channels of American trade.

Therefore William McKinley said, in his Buffalo speech:

By sensible trade arrangements which will not interrupt our home production we shall extend the outlets of our increasing surplus.

And therefore the Republican party said in its national platform of 1900: "We favor the associated policy of reciprocity so directed as to open our markets on favorable terms for what we do not ourselves produce in return for free foreign markets."

EXPORT PRICES.

But some gentlemen say that some manufacturers are selling some goods cheaper abroad than at home, and if they can do that what is the need of protection? Let us examine this.

A manufacturer will tell you that his mill has a certain capacity; that he can manufacture cheaper, and therefore sell cheaper, by running full time at full capacity than by running part time at part capacity; that when the mill slacks down to part time or no time at all men are thrown out of employment while interest and rust eat on, and the whole system of labor, capital, and machinery is disorganized by alternate spasms of activity and idleness.

He will tell you that at the end of a year or a specified time, having run full time at full capacity, he is likely to have on hand a surplus beyond the demands of his regular trade, but which he must sell before it becomes stale.

He will tell you that even if this surplus is sold at cost or even at a loss, still the regular price of his product to the consumer is less than it would be if he attempted to run haltingly, trying to gauge his product to current demand.

It appears that in all commercial countries export prices are at times from various causes lower than domestic prices, and that among these causes are:

First, the sale of out-of-date stock;

Second, the sale of a surplus without slacking down, it being more profitable to sell low at times and keep running than to lie idle; and

Third, the lowering of prices to introduce goods, thereby widening markets and stimulating production at home, on the theory that the more there is sold at home and abroad the more there is made at home, and the more there is made at home the cheaper it can be made at home, and the cheaper it can be made at home the cheaper it can be sold at home, even though at times and in places prices are lower abroad than at home, and the more there is made at home the more labor employed at home, and the more labor employed at home the more wages paid at home, the more wages spent at home, and the more homes built at home.

OUR JOINT AND SEVERAL INTERESTS.

No matter how capital combines or how labor combines or how they differ among themselves, their interests are inseparable and it ought to be plain to both that they can not afford to go out of business in favor of foreign labor and foreign capital by abandoning the policy of protection.

For the last seven years we have been going on in a procession of highest standards till all the world wonders and other nations are paying us the compliment of substituting foreign names for American names on American goods, sending experts here to study our conditions, and threatening to combine against us commercially.

Wages and profits have moved up together, so that on the 1st day of January, 1903, railroads and large corporations generally throughout the country raised wages 10 per cent., which, added to the general increase of wages during the three months next preceding that time, raised the annual earning power of labor in the United States, it is said, by about \$75,000,000, an increase unprecedented in industrial history within so short a time! and all these earnings have constantly been flowing back into the channels of retail trade.

It is claimed that an occasional industry here and there has cut down wages or shortened hours of work since that time, but there has been no general reaction. We have more money in use and circulation now than ever before, and the increase of nearly \$186,000,000 in our savings banks during the past year, and the fact reported by Bradstreet's, that of all the people in business in the year 1903, only 0.76 of 1 per cent. failed, is proof of our continuing and advancing prosperity.

We have had some flurries in Wall street, but a flurry in Wall street is getting to be more and more local in its effect.

All our energies of production, transmutation, and exchange have been running full time at full capacity except when slackened here and there by special causes, or when interrupted by differences between labor and capital, and how these differences shall be adjusted is of supreme importance not only to labor and to capital, but to our whole population.

REASON, NOT FORCE, THE WAY TO SETTLE DIFFERENCES.

There are two ways to settle disputes, one by arbitration and the other by war, and war means progressive mutual destruction. Science is accurate knowledge accurately applied, and in these days of spectroscopic analysis of lightning and snap shots at thunderbolts; when public opinion concentrates itself by wire and expresses itself through printing presses which can print, fold, cut, and paste 72,000 eight-page newspapers an hour; when the chemical engineer finds a mine in the waste of yesterday; when technical knowledge takes the raw material which is nature's finished product, wrought or distilled in the alembic of sunshine and slow time, and separates it into the elements which compose it till hundreds of by-products require hundreds of factories and multiply invention and labor incalculably; when reason more than force is more and more governing the world, it ought to be possible for capital and labor to get together somewhere on the uplands of reason and common sense and ascertain with reasonable accuracy the line between their mutual rights.

ORGANIZATION AND ARBITRATION.

But to do this organization is first necessary. A disorganized mass of rights and wrongs can not coherently reason about themselves and express themselves, nor intelligently hear the rights and wrongs of others.

Organization compels self-inspection, discussion, and the formulating of principles on which to stand that will bear analysis before the bar of public opinion, where both organized labor and organized capital must stand trial and be judged by one standard of right and wrong, because there can not be two standards of right and wrong, one for labor and one for capital.

Organization makes force, craft, and dishonesty conspicuous and responsible.

And when labor gets itself organized and gets for itself a head, and when capital gets itself organized and gets for itself a head, and when these two heads get together and agree upon a working basis organization makes two organized entities of honor or dishonor for the fulfillment or the breach of their agreement.

The solution of this business must be from the inside outward, that is from the conscience of patriotic American citizenship outward, and it will not do to say that capital has it all or that labor has it all.

There is one union above all other unions. Its password is "Liberty." Its ritual is the Constitution of the United States. Its oath is the oath of allegiance to the United States, and its sign is the flag of our Union. [Applause.]

It takes two to make an arbitration just as it takes two to make a quarrel, but in the long run neither labor nor capital can afford to take the position or the penalty of refusal to arbitrate.

Refusal reacts first on the parties to the controversy, because industries can not be transformed into warring camps and maintain the output of peace, and, second, it reacts upon the public at large.

For illustration, it is said the strikes in the building trades of New York last summer reduced the demand for structural steel, which in turn reduced the production of pig iron, two-thirds of the value of which represented labor. Hence labor lost its pay, capital lost its profit, and building was delayed.

GOOD PAY FOR GOOD WORK AND GOOD WORK FOR GOOD PAY.

There is nothing to be gained by presenting an inventory of the items of difference in that controversy, but if it be true, as stated in the Iron Age, that a hand riveter on structural steel work in New York City who could easily average from 250 to 300 rivets a day would only average 80 rivets a day, and if it be true that "the pneumatic riveter * * * in the hands of a man in any other city will drive from 1,500 to 2,000 rivets a day and only 250 or 300 in New York," we are forced to the conclusion that there must be something peculiar about New York.

At the miners' convention in Pittsburg, Kansas, in July last, Mr. Mitchell said:

While the trades unions ask the highest possible wages, they must return faithful service. In the trades unions and in the industrial movement men have obligations as well as privileges. We have a duty to perform. If we receive good pay we must give good work.

The question of how much pay is one for labor and capital to settle between themselves, but that a man ought to give good work for good pay is only common everyday fairness, and the habit of English trades unions of "killing time" is one of the things that have contributed to impair the trade of England.

However they settle their differences, it ought to be plain to both labor and capital that their controversies and the adjustment of their controversies ought to be conducted on the American side of an American protective tariff; that neither of them can afford to introduce into the problem of their differences the factor of unrestrained foreign competition, and that so far as labor is concerned, even low wages under protection are higher than wages could possibly be without protection.

Speaking of immigration, John Mitchell says in his book on "Organized Labor," "the American people should not sacrifice the future of the working classes in order to improve the conditions of the inhabitants of Europe," and this observation is just as applicable to unrestricted importations as to unrestricted immigration.

However labor and capital settle their differences, they must settle them in the light of public opinion, and neither can long maintain an unfair position.

What Samuel Gompers said of trades unionism—that it is "just as strong and no stronger than public opinion"—is equally true of trades combinations.

FAIR DEALING.

A sound argument argues itself. It may be slow, like the shadow on the dial, but it must in the long run prevail.

When the laborers in the vineyard grumbled because those who came in at the eleventh hour were paid the same as those who came in under contract in the morning, they were asked by their employer, "Is it not lawful for me to do as I will with mine own?"

If this inquiry were propounded now, some member of a modern union might answer justly, "No, modern conditions have introduced a different kind of political economy nowadays." And he might proceed to say, "I came here to work for you some years ago. On the strength of steady employment I have bought me a home. I have it half paid for and the unpaid balance is secured by mortgage. My children are in school and I myself am in middle life and can not easily adapt myself to change."

If his union had proposed arbitration he might add: "We have asked for arbitration; you ought not to bring in new men now to take our places without giving fair

consideration to our grievances. There is a higher equity than the mere payment of wages. Give us a chance to be heard."

If the employer under such conditions refuses to arbitrate, fair-minded men will say that labor has not been fairly treated, and the union can not be blamed if it does not go out with a brass band to welcome non-union men who have come to take their places.

But if the employer offers to arbitrate, and labor not only refuses to arbitrate, but refuses to permit the employer to turn a wheel, and resorts to violence to prevent the employer from turning a wheel, fair-minded men will say that the employer has not been fairly treated.

But suppose the laborers who went in first under contract should say: "Let us form ourselves into a vine-dressers' union," and having formed themselves into a union they should say: "We are expert workmen, but the fewer vines we trim in a day the more days we shall have to work and the more pay we shall draw. Therefore go to! let us trim twenty vines a day, when we could trim a hundred. And if any non-union vinedresser shall appear at the gate let us stone him with stones."

What then? Will not fair-minded men say that this is neither fair to the employer nor to the consumer, who has to pay more for grapes by reason thereof?

Or suppose the vinedressers' union should say: "Some of us are expert workmen and can earn expert pay; others of us are third-rate workmen and can not earn expert pay, but, nevertheless, let us demand expert pay for all of us." Would not such a demand operate against the interests of the better workmen and at the same time be unfair to the employer and the public at large?

Again, suppose the vine-dressers' union should say: "In our guild there are one hundred. Now, let us limit the number of our apprentices, so that we may keep down the supply of labor."

And suppose the widow's son should apply to learn the vine-dresser's art and to him reply should be made: "The number of our apprentices is full. Go thou and seek apprenticeship in the woodhewers' union."

And when he finds the woodhewers' union and the water carriers' union and other unions full, wherewithal shall the widow's son be clothed and fed?

Has he not an equal right with others to select his trade and work at it?

While it may be true that labor has as good right to limit the supply of labor as monopoly has to limit the output of the necessities of life, does either make the other right?

SOCIALISM AND THE BELGIAN EXPERIMENT.

The paramount problems before the people to-day are tariffs, trusts, and the mutual relations of labor and capital; and going to and fro in the background of these problems, but unrecognized by the great mass of the people engaged therein, is the spirit of philosophic socialism, which hails trusts, labor unions, and the municipalizing of public utilities as tending toward the realization of the socialistic dream of "all for each and each for all."

It was one of the teachings of Carl Marx "that industries will fall as by nature into fewer and fewer hands."

As to the municipalizing of public utilities, before the people get ready to turn over much business to municipal management they will probably want some better assurance of municipal business ability and honesty than some of our cities have lately furnished, and some better evidence of the advantages of paternalism than Australia has been able to furnish with its public debt of more than a billion dollars, increased by socialistic experiment, or its emigrating population.

The socialistic experiment has also been in practical operation for something like ten years in Belgium and is of profound interest to students of social movements.

In Belgium labor has gone into business on its own account and is practically labor capitalized and doing business without the intervention of the middleman.

Bakeries, creameries, coal depots, groceries, libraries, shoe factories, saloons, and distributive stores are run by cooperative labor societies, which also have a system of old-age insurance, giving pensions to members of twenty years' standing who are over 60 years old.

It is a curious fact that the things that are complained of combined capital here are complained of combined labor there.

There, cooperating labor societies are centralizing business; here cooperating capital is centralizing business.

There, it is claimed, middlemen and small dealers are being thrown out of business by cooperating labor; here, it is claimed, they are being thrown out by cooperating capital.

In Ghent in 1900 a commission took testimony as to the effect of cooperating labor societies there, and the charges against them are curiously like the charges made against department stores here.

In Belgium socialism, experimenting practically with its own theories, has been obliged to modify them.

Judging from the Belgian experiment, humanity is not yet ready to work for a common capital as faithfully as for private gain, and the doctrine of "all for each and each for all" is not yet practicable.

There, as elsewhere, for many years labor has been debating about labor-saving machinery, and when cooperating labor found that it had to use the best machinery, labor employed by itself objected on the ground that improved machinery displaced labor, whereupon cooperating labor replied: "The better it is, the better for us. It makes more work somewhere else, which some of our men must do. Besides the more product we turn out with the best machinery, the better wages we pay and the shorter hours we give. If we can make an iron man do our work quicker and better and cheaper than we can do it while we get pay for holding him to his task, why not?"

This sounds like good logic for both labor and capital.

At first labor insisted in Belgium, as it has insisted elsewhere, upon the minimum wage system, whereby every workman should receive no less than a certain sum per day. But cooperating labor was obliged to modify the minimum-wage theory, because in practice it was found that all kinds of workmen did all kinds of work—that is, some worked steadily but with varying speed, according to their ability and skill, while others gossiped and wasted their own and others' time.

Therefore cooperating labor introduced the rule that a man should have no less than a certain sum per day provided he could earn that sum.

That sounds like good logic for both labor and capital.

Labor objected in Belgium, as it has objected elsewhere, to the piecework system, on the ground that under that system employers were in the habit of gauging the price per piece by the speed of some too rapid man.

But cooperating, labor debating and experimenting with itself, found, when it set up business for itself in Belgium, that human nature is not changed even when it becomes cooperating human nature, and that men will loaf under a time-work system or a minimum-wage system, who, if set to work on piece work, will double their productive power.

Cooperating labor therefore adopted and continued the piece-work system.

Labor debating and experimenting further with itself found that the market had to be reckoned with by cooperating labor just as it has to be reckoned with by capital.

It found that when cooperating labor sets up in business for itself, if what it makes will bring only a certain price on the market, then cooperating labor, receiving only that price for what it makes, must gauge the wages it pays itself accordingly, just as capital has to gauge the wages it pays.

Socialism objects to interest and rent; but when it goes to work for itself in Belgium under the cooperative plan, it borrows money and rents buildings, and pays interest and rent the same as capital does.

When out of business, socialism theorizes about equality; but when it goes into business in Belgium, it recognizes that the highest-priced man in town may be the cheapest man in town, and pays its managers accordingly.

In short, in this singularly strong illustration of the difference between theory and practice in Belgium, cooperating labor deals with wages, hours of work, piecework, interest, rent, and extra pay for extra ability, as they are dealt with under the wage system.

NO SOLUTION IN DISORDER.

Apparently we are not yet ready for socialism.

At present we are a world of corporate combinations and labor combinations, jarringly, but jointly, operating the machinery of the most inventive age since time began, and our immediate concern is to keep the machinery running to the profit and advantage of all the people.

Both organized capital and organized labor owe and must render obedience under the law, and their best interests are in law and order. Even a bad law is better than no law at all. If the law is bad, the law can be amended.

Anarchy would only turn over to the strong and the cunning all the remnants of a destroyed state; and inasmuch as even chaos must have a center to revolve around, reorganization would immediately begin again, under new leaders.

The French Revolution, with its tannery of human skins at Meudon, its wig making from the hair of the guillotined, its dyspeptic mobs hanging mayors and bakers because bread was too high, its goddess of reason, and all its other tragic by-products, finally resulted in a Napoleon.

The average common sense of the average American citizen is the power behind the law and above the law.

The struggle now, as in Lincoln's time, though in a different way, is still "a struggle for maintaining in the world that form and substance of government whose leading object is to elevate the condition of men, * * * to afford to all an unfettered start and a fair chance in the race of life."

Our leaders shall be of ourselves and our "governors shall proceed from the midst of us," and so long as the best is uppermost in men and so long as the best men are uppermost among men no power this side the Omnipotent can prevent us from continuing to be foremost among the living advancing powers of the world.

Humanity on its long journey from the lost Eden to the new Eden somewhere beyond has received a new impulse here on American soil, and American manhood, grown to the measure of the stature of the fullness of its opportunity, is taking its weaker brethren by the hand and leading them on while all the traditions of our heroic past, all our hopes of better things to come, all the ideals of our great leaders who have died along the march, and all the angels of our better nature lean from the battlements of light and cheer us on the way. [Loud and prolonged applause.]

"I see countries under protection prospering and countries under free trade decaying."—Bismarck.

"Abstract theories concern very little the people for whom we legislate. Mere abstract theory never filled a stomach, clothed a back, built a cottage, started a mill wheel, moved a shuttle, or closed a soup house."

Hon. C. E. LITTLEFIELD.

SPEECH

OF

Hon. Charles E. Littlefield

OF MAINE

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 27, 1904



SPEECH OF
HON. CHARLES E. LITTLEFIELD
OF MAINE

Wednesday, April 27, 1904.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD said:

Mr. SPEAKER: Under the existing conditions I have no doubt I will be pardoned if I do not spend any time discussing the specific provisions of this bill. This is a bill that provides for carrying the supplies of the Army and Navy by the American merchant marine. It is for that purpose and is intended as an aid in its upbuilding and development. I agree with the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. COCKRAN] that the underlying principle of this bill, being the purpose to aid by the Government this branch of our industries, is a legitimate corollary of the doctrine of protection, and in that respect it is in line with the well-settled policy of this country. Every consideration involved in its support is a consideration that would equally as well apply in a discussion of the question of protection generally.

Now, inasmuch, Mr. Speaker, as it is my purpose during the course of this discussion to refer to a greater or less extent to the Republican policy of protection and the assaults that have been made thereon and the respective attitudes of the contending parties with reference thereto, it is entirely proper for me to suggest that the remarks that I thus make for that purpose will be entirely germane to pending bill. It has been the privilege of the House during the last few days to witness upon this floor some very unusual and remarkable displays of parliamentary eloquence. The distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. COCKRAN], with his splendid natural abilities and his magnificent talents, has contributed in a large and remarkable degree to that oratorical display.

I congratulate the gentlemen upon the other side; I congratulate the gentlemen upon this side; I congratulate the country upon the return of the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. COCKRAN] to legislative duties upon this floor as a representative of that great Empire State. [Applause on the Democratic side.] It affords me great pleasure to recognize his superb ability and his great capacities. It is a pleasure to meet him, it is a pleasure to know him, and it is an unalloyed pleasure, particularly at this time and under these circumstances, for me upon this side to hear him. I wish to say in the first instance, Mr. Speaker, that I was very much interested in the presentation made by my distinguished friend.

**THE THEORIES THAT UNDERLIE THE DOCTRINE OF FREE TRADE
ARE BY NO MEANS NEW OR NOVEL.**

The arguments that are supposed to sustain and maintain that chimerical and utopian theory for fiscal legislation have long been threadbare, frayed out, toil worn, travel stained, moth-eaten, and they now achieve a new distinction and attraction by their oratorical display from the gentleman from New York. [Ap-

plause on the Republican side.] I wish to call the attention of the House and of the country to the fact that the gentleman from New York spent little time in developing the metaphysical theories, the general line of argument and discussion that is supposed to lie behind and justify the doctrine of free trade. On the contrary, the gentleman from New York [Mr. COCKRAN instead of arguing that proposition and presenting it in any degree as a logical condition, sustained by reason and argument addressed to this House and to the country, devoted his time largely to an assault—vituperative, vilifying, and since the speech of the gentleman yesterday afternoon, I am compelled by an adherence to truth to say a demagogic assault—upon the doctrine of protection to American labor and industry. [Applause on the Republican side.] I will not meet the gentleman upon that ground.

The gentleman mistakes epithets for argument and denunciation for demonstration. I will not degrade myself to the level of assault and vilification and vituperation in a discussion of a great question that concerns the welfare, the happiness, and the prosperity of a great people. [Applause on the Republican side.] I welcome any contribution to any public discussion that tends to illuminate the situation and contribute thereto information, no matter from what source it may come or what its inspiration may be, because in this country we are mainly interested, our constituents are interested, in the rightful determination of these great questions. The purpose of parliamentary deliberations should be the ascertainment and the development of the truth, and that involves, Mr. Speaker, contributions to the discussion from both sides.

Now, while I recognize, Mr. Speaker, that the performance of the distinguished gentleman from New York, for whom I entertain the highest degree of admiration, upon Saturday last was one of the finest laurels that he has added to his reputation during a long and illustrious career, I feel bound to say that his discussion added nothing to the sum of human knowledge and did not increase the store of human wisdom. [Applause on the Republican side.] If the gentleman had confined himself in the discussion to the metaphysical, logical, and syllogistical propositions that from the time of Adam Smith down through Peel and Cobden and Bright, until we reach men of this generation, have been relied upon by distinguished men for the purpose of sustaining that propaganda, it might perhaps have been thought necessary to indulge from this side in defense of this policy in equally theoretical discussion in answer thereto, but yet even then, Mr. Speaker, I should doubt somewhat the utility of that sort of discussion.

Abstract theories concern very little the people for whom we legislate. Mere abstract theory never filled a stomach, clothed a back, built a cottage, started a mill wheel, moved a shuttle, or closed a soup house. What do they desire to know?

THE PEOPLE WANT TO KNOW WHAT THE LAW WE ENACT WILL DO FOR THE COUNTRY.

They are concerned very little as to what theory produces legislation whether protection or free trade, but it is the result of the application of the theories in fiscal legislation that concerns the welfare, the prosperity, and the happiness of a great people, and it is by that standard that a little later I propose to treat some suggestions made by the distinguished gentleman from New York. No theory can long stand, no matter how metaphysically and how theoretically

sound it may be, that can not stand the test of the stern and inexorable logic of events.

Bismarck, one of the greatest statesmen of our time—yes, of any time—we'll said:

"I base my opinion on the practical experience of our time. I see countries under protection prospering and countries under free trade decaying."

Results determine whether or not the American people stand by a certain policy. And upon results the Republican party in this campaign will stand with its feet planted upon the rock. [Applause on the Republican side.] Before I reach a consideration of these suggestions, however, I wish to refer to some things which have occurred upon this floor in connection with this discussion that in my judgment require a little more than passing notice. The gentleman from New York [Mr. COCKRAN] in his speech on Saturday called attention to the fact that frequent demands had been made from this side of the House for the purpose of ascertaining what the issue would be in this campaign upon which two great parties would go before the American people and submit their contentions to arbitration at the polls.

Until the gentleman arose in his place on Saturday and gave an answer to that question some doubt, perhaps, might have existed as to what the issue was to be. Now, for the time being, at this stage of the discussion, I assume that the gentleman from New York [Mr. COCKRAN] has the right to speak for the men who covered him with encomium and sustained him with uncontrollable enthusiasm on Saturday last. Mr. Speaker, I quote now from the notes of the speech of the gentleman from New York [Mr. COCKRAN], for I have not the benefit of the Record, as his speech has not yet been printed. He said:

"This suggestion of a subsidy, which has brought forth this entire tariff discussion, presents therefore clearly the issue between the two parties. It presents the issue between seeking prosperity by government interference and by the independent labor of the citizen, between paternalism and individualism, between Republicanism and Democracy. [Applause on the Democratic side]"

That is to say, the issue between absolute free trade and protection. That there may be no doubt as to what kind of an issue the gentleman intended clearly appears from his next statement:

"Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HEPBURN], who has just concluded, the gallant hero from Ohio [Mr. GROSVENOR], who is as brave in facing the reasons of his adversaries as the bullets of his enemies, have both challenged us to name the issue on which this Presidential campaign must turn."

I suppose he meant the alleged reasons of his adversaries.

Remember what I have just quoted as to what the issue was,

**THE ISSUE BETWEEN FREE TRADE—BOLD, BLATANT, BARE, AND
UNCOVERED—AND PROTECTION TO AMERICAN INDUSTRY;
THAT IS WHAT THE GENTLEMAN STANDS FOR.**

Then, in order to make it absolutely certain that this was to be the issue, he says:

"Why, sir, *this issue*—

Referring to the issue between free trade and protection—

"is made clear by every word that has fallen from the lips of any Member of this house."

Now, whether he had in his mind the concluding suggestion of my distinguished friend from Missouri [Mr. CLARK] when he said that the bugle note of this campaign was to be tariff reduction and genuine reciprocity, or whether he had in mind the article written in the magazine by the distinguished minority leader of this House, I do not know; and let me say in passing, Mr. Speaker, that I have the highest admiration and respect, not only for the ability of the distinguished minority leader of this House, but for his character and integrity, and a little later I desire to put that integrity and that character to the test by some inquiries I propose to propound.

THIS, FREE TRADE AGAINST PROTECTION, WAS THE ISSUE ON SATURDAY, APPLAUDED TO THE ECHO.

aye, greeted with amens upon the other side—yes, greeted with howls and yells and cheers such as never have occurred in this assembly probably since the distinguished gentleman, Hon. William L. Wilson, was carried in triumphal procession upon the shoulders of his friends out of this room and returned thereto a stricken corpse in the shape of the Gorman-Wilson tariff bill. [Applause and laughter on the Republican side.]

That was on Saturday. A change came o'er the spirit of his dreams. Twenty-four hours roll around, forty-eight hours roll around, seventy-two hours roll around, and the gentleman from New York [Mr. COCKRAN] again addresses the American Congress, and incidentally thereto the American people. What then? Mr. Speaker, I am still deprived of the printed record of the second speech of the gentleman from New York [Mr. COCKRAN]; but the gentleman from New York [Mr. COCKRAN] then very mildly informed the House of his suggestion of the issue, although received, I am bound to say, in some quarters with more or less belated fervor, and the gentleman no doubt realized that when exposed to the air, when this skeleton of free trade had been taken from its prison house and exhibited to the country in all its nakedness and enormity, it was not greeted with that degree of cheer that he perhaps expected, when reflection ensued.

Yesterday he said the issue will not be the tariff, but it will be "the question of depriving you of the opportunity of robbing the Treasury of the proceeds of the revenue."

Now, let me make this suggestion to my friend. When the gentleman made that suggestion he well knew—I do not know that I will go so far as to say that—he ought to have known that it was without foundation. How much the gentleman knows about these things I do not quite understand, because I have here the notes of his speech, in which he suggests that the revenues collected for the purpose of carrying on the Government are, in some respects, collected in a manner that no one is able to ascertain; and yet, without money and without price, simply by a letter addressed to a Department of this Government, that can be ascertained in detail without any difficulty, indicating, perhaps, a lack of thorough study on the part of the gentleman from New York upon these great questions, and indicating the further fact that the gentleman is happier and more successful when he swings himself into the upper ether, with his feet away from the earth, unhampered by facts, to engage in these magnificent oratorical demonstrations. [Laughter and applause on the Republican side.]

But that was not the real reason for changing the issue. The gentleman from New York in that speech of Tuesday, drawn out by the controversy with my distinguished friend from Pennsylvania [Mr. DALZELL]—in which controversy

I desire to say here and now I take no part, because it is no affair of mine—but in the speech drawn out by that controversy the gentleman from New York went further and said—not that this suggestion was the reason, that was thrown in merely because it filled the mouth with a well-rounded rhetorical period—the gentleman said they did not propose to make the tariff an issue because—why? Because they could not enact that proposition, as announced on Saturday last, into a law for four years, on account of the fact that the Republican party is intrenched in the Senate of the United States for four years to come. Now, that may be a source of satisfaction to the country, but it does not add anything to the weight of the gentleman's argument, or furnish a reason for his withdrawing the tariff as an issue, as I shall show in a moment. * * * * *

I have clearly demonstrated that no gentleman on the other side dares deny that he approves of the free-trade declarations of the gentleman from New York [Mr. COCKRAN], which were applauded with such uncontrollable enthusiasm, nor do they dare deny that they propose to enact them into law when opportunity is afforded. Now, let me call the attention of the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. DE ARMOND] to this fact. The gentleman seems to be disturbed by trusts, and I trust that he may have read the platform adopted by the late Democratic convention in New York, upon which the great unknown and recently discovered is expected to be nominated and make this run for the Presidency. Let me read this to the gentleman:

"Corporations chartered by the State must be subject to just regulations"—

By whom do you think?

"by the State in the interest of the people."

[Applause and laughter on the Republican side.]

When they are defining the regulations to which corporations must be subjected and confine it to the State, the inference is that they intend to exclude Federal control.

The Republican party says that these corporations must be subject to regulation by the State, and in addition thereto, by the the Federal Government, the latter being the only body that can effectively regulate them. Go into this campaign and ratiocinate about trusts with pharisaical and hypocritical declarations in relation thereto, and have facing you this proposition of the convention of the State of New York, that you propose in effect to take corporations out from under interstate control and put them under State control. By that interesting process—dictated, I understand, by August Belmont of New York—you eliminate the Federal control of trusts and combines and the opportunity to regulate and control interstate commerce, so far as it may undertake to drive out trade monopolies.

Having spent some considerable time in unavailing efforts to acquire information from our friends on the other side or to get an answer from them, I will proceed with the discussion. The country will judge whether the Democratic party that sat here and vociferously applauded that speech on Saturday last, with its free-trade theories, does or not in its heart approve of its sentiments, though it has not a man who dares stand in his place, excepting, perhaps, the other distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. BAKER], and say that he now approves of it. Even the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. COCKRAN] who made it does not stand by it. He withdrew it in terms on this floor yesterday afternoon.

WHAT DOES THE DEMOCRACY REALLY MEAN?

Are the Democracy in favor of free trade? Do they believe in it; and after this manifestation of their attitude, if they are ever vested with power will they enact it into law? The Democratic party stands to-day at the parting of the ways. One way lies honesty integrity, consistency; their real conviction and belief, free trade; but at the end of that way is certain defeat. The other way is hypocrisy and deceit and the hope that they may cajole the people into believing that they will not injure any industry if intrusted with power. At its end, if the goal is reached, dangles the Presidency and the House of Representatives. So far as it has a conscience and a real belief, it is drawn toward defeat; but the attraction of the flesh pots of Egypt will turn them from the way of rectitude to that of deceit with the hope of success, however dishonorable. Infirm of purpose, of course they tremble.

Gentlemen should not be affrighted at their shadows, because people who are affrighted at their shadows gradually shrivel and shrink and dwindle until they are not able to cast even a shadow, and the Democracy would hardly want to get into that position, I take it.

I want to call attention to a suggestion made by the gentleman from New York as to prosperity. The gentleman has a very theoretical definition of prosperity. He says there is no prosperity unless it is attained or demonstrated under the formula suggested by him. The gentleman has this great peculiarity: He is not satisfied with the existence of any known fact unless he can account for it in some way by the exercise of his theorizing or reasoning or syllogistic powers. If he were to be asked whether the sun shone, he would be likely to say: "It is now well settled that the sun is a stationary and luminous body, that the earth revolves on its axis once in twenty-four hours, and during that period every part of the earth's surface at some point of time is exposed to the sun. It is now 5 minutes of 3 p. m.; the sun rose at a certain time, say 6.30 a. m.; therefore the sun now shines on this particular part of the earth's surface." [Laughter.]

Now, the ordinary mortal looks out and says, "The sun is shining." He knows it without any process of ratiocination or unusual and extraordinary reasoning.

When the gentleman from New York strikes this question of prosperity, he is troubled by the same difficulty. The ordinary citizen looks out over the land and ascertains whether or not prosperity blesses the country by observing whether or not wage-earners are employed, whether business is profitable, whether the mills are moving, whether the soup houses have been extinguished. And, if the wage-earners are profitably employed and money and products are being accumulated and distributed throughout the community, then we have prosperity. But the gentleman from New York says:

"Now, sir, if this definition of prosperity be correct it follows that any system that tends to swell the production of commodities is the system that produces for the happiness and welfare and the prosperity of a people."

I will take the gentleman's definition, and I will try the results of protection by that definition. "Any system that tends to swell the production of commodities" is the system that gives prosperity to the people.

In 1890 the amount of the annual productions of this country, agricultural, mining and manufacturing, aggregated \$12,452,193,662. In 1900 they aggregated \$17,867,076,272. And I want to call attention to the fact that this vast amount

of production was beyond all question largely consumed in our own country, because our exports during the last few years have been only about \$1,200,000,000 and our imports something like \$800,000,000, making the balance of trade in our favor some five or six hundred millions, as the case may be; so that this vast amount of production, seventeen billions, is consumed by our people.

It is not hoarded; it is not piled up in the banks; it is not stored away. It is manufactured product: it is agricultural product; it is the product of the mine. The gold and silver amounted to only about \$173,000,000. It must have been distributed among the great mass of the people, as they, as distinguished from the wealthy few, are the consumers of these products. This shows an increase of production during that period of \$5,414,882,610. This extraordinary increase has taken place notwithstanding the fact that the years of 1894, 1895, 1896, and 1897, of Democratic Administration, were years of deficit in the Treasury, accompanied with a paralyzing panic that threw labor out of employment and arrested the development of production, painful facts which makes the increase all the more remarkable.

How does that indicate any progress and development? Well, the percentage of increase of production from 1890 to 1900 was 0.43. To be sure, we have increased in population during that time, which increase was not affected by the years of panic and disaster. But the percentage of increase of population is 0.21 and the percentage of increase of production is double the percentage of the increase of population. The amount of production per capita in 1890 was \$199; in 1900 it was \$234, or \$35 per capita more in 1900 than in 1890. So that if it were necessary to demonstrate a palpable and obvious fact that has been conceded upon the other side of this House during this session over and over again, that magnificent prosperity now blesses this country, we have the demonstration by the actual figures involved in its development. One test is therefore successfully met, and this is his supreme test. This was under the "system" of protection.

AMERICAN LABOR AND INDUSTRY.

Now, I wish to refer, if the Chair please, to another proposition involved in the demonstration of the propriety and wisdom and utility and value of the Republican policy of the protection of American labor and industry. And in connection with this I will invoke a speech made by the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. COCKRAN] in the Fifty-third Congress when the Gorman-Wilson bill was under consideration. In that speech the gentleman referred to the McKinley bill. The author of it having discovered that there was no tin-plate production or manufacture in this country, and believing that there was capital and labor ready to embark in its production, provided for a tariff that, in his judgment, would develop an entirely new industry in the Republic. The industry began to develop in the middle of 1891. In 1894 the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. COCKRAN] referred to this industry as follows:

"I have already conceded that by protection you can diversify industries. I concede, for instance, that your tariff may have operated to start a tin-plate industry in this country. [Laughter on the Democratic side.]"

Treated it more or less as a joke, you see.

"I have always heard the existence of tin-plate factories disputed—

At that very time they had increased from a production of 2,000,000 pounds in six months to a production of 160,000,000 pounds per year.

"I have always heard the existence of tin-plate factories disputed; whether they exist in this country or not is one of the questions which are as puzzling to the human mind as the identity of the man who wore the iron mask, but I am willing to concede that you may have started a tin-plate industry under your tariff, because I know that you can start it if you put the tariff high enough. You can start almost any industry in this country, no matter what the cost of production may be, no matter how much it may exceed the cost of production in any other country, if you impose a sufficiently high tariff on it and there be a demand for the article in this country. Now, that is a large concession to the high-protection doctrine. I admit that you can diversify industry by legislation; but the question is, should you do it? *Is it for the best interests of all the people of this country that you should do it?*"

I think that is a very fair statement of the test that should be applied to the theory of the protective tariff and to the operation of its legislation. By that test I propose to measure the Republican policy.

TIN PLATE.

I want to call the attention of the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. COCKRAN], and I want to call the attention of my friends on the other side to the fact that this tariff legislation originated by William McKinley in 1890 amply sustains that test. By it, for the first time, a tariff was imposed upon tin. It operated for about six months in 1891, and during that time there were 2,000,000 pounds of tin plates manufactured. In 1902 there were 819,000,000 pounds manufactured. In 1900 the capital invested in that industry was \$28,000,000. The amount annually paid for wages was \$10,000,000, the number of wage-earners employed 14,843, the value of the product was \$41,322,000, and the estimated wages paid since 1901 are \$100,000,000. Here we have \$10,000,000 wages per annum, 14,843 people employed, \$41,000,000 the value of the product and \$100,000,000 paid in wages since the development of this industry. Well, from some points of view that would be held to demonstrate the efficiency and success of this legislation. The distribution of this vast sum in wages and the employment of this large number of persons, to anyone but a free trader, would seem matters of the first consequence.

But the gentleman from New York [Mr. COCKRAN] says that this policy is plunder; that it is robbery of the people; that it is levying tribute upon the many for the benefit of the few; that these sums are plundered from the people engaged in other industries. Now, let me call the gentleman's attention to the fact that the cost of tin plate in this country per hundred pounds in 1891 was \$5.30. This was the price the domestic consumer paid for imported tin at that time. In March, 1904, the cost to the domestic consumer of tin of domestic manufacture was \$3.65. In other words, tin plates costs to-day to the domestic consumer per hundred pounds, under the operation of the protective tariff, \$1.65 less per hundred pounds than it cost in 1891, when the tariff went into operation and he supplied himself with the imported article. But that does not establish the whole proposition. The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CLARK] said the other day that when the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HEPBURN] made his suggestion in regard to steel rails that there had been the same reduction in the price of steel rails the world over. Now, if it is true that there has been a corresponding reduction

in the price of tin plate abroad compared with the reduction at home, the suggestion of the gentleman from Missouri would be applicable here.

But what is the fact? I have said that in 1891 importer tin plate cost the domestic consumer here \$5.30 per 100 pounds. What did the same plate cost abroad before importation? Three dollars per 100 pounds.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Will the gentleman give me those figures?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Certainly. Tin plate cost here in 1904, in March, this very last March, \$3.65 per 100 pounds.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. I did not catch the earlier prices.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. In 1891 the domestic price of imported tin plate was \$5.30 in New York. In March, 1904, the domestic price in New York of tin of domestic manufacture was \$3.65, a reduction of \$1.65 per 100 pounds.

In 1891 the price was \$3 per hundred pounds abroad. If there had been a corresponding reduction in the cost abroad as in the cost or price here, there would be very little in the proposition. Now, what I say is this, that the price of 1903 abroad was \$2.90 a hundred pounds, a reduction of only 10 cents. In other words, there has been a saving by virtue of the operation of a protective tariff in connection with the tin industry during this period from 1891 to 1904 to-day of \$1.65, and taking off the ten cents makes it \$1.55 per hundred pounds. If you had the same reduction abroad as has occurred at home under this robber McKinley tariff, you would have a price abroad to-day of only \$1.35 a hundred pounds instead of \$2.90. Multiply \$19,000,000 pounds, the annual production at the present time, by 1.55, instead of 1.65, to allow for the reduction in price abroad of 10 cents, and you have \$12,694,500 as the sum that we would now be paying for imported tin in excess of what we now pay for the domestic product if there were no tariff.

If we were buying to-day imported tin, as we were in 1891, and as we would be but for the protective tariff, we would be paying therefor \$5.20 instead of \$3.65 per 100 pounds.

In other words, a saving to the American consumer of \$12,694,500 by reason of the operation of domestic competition under the protection afforded by the tariff, "puzzling though it may be to the human mind" in some instances. It is estimated that at least \$75,000,000 have been thus saved to the American consumer by the operation of the tariff since 1891. This is an illustration of how in practical operation the tariff robs and plunders the people and of how vicious paternalism may be.

Now, I call the attention of the gentleman from New York to this proposition, and I think his candor is such that he will concede it. His suggestion is: "Is it for the best interest of all the people of this country that you should do it?"

Here is the practical application of the tariff for the purpose of developing this particular industry. The actual saving per annum to the people of this country by the operation of this proposition has been \$12,694,500. The total saving estimated by the Bureau of Statistics is \$75,000,000; and I submit, Mr. Speaker, with great candor, I have answered fully the suggestion of the gentleman from New York.

IS THE PROTECTIVE TARIFF UNCONSTITUTIONAL?

I wish to go a little further, Mr. Speaker, and call attention to what I believe to be the theory upon which tariff legislation should operate. We differ constitutionally with our friends. In the platform of 1892 they said a fundamental principle of the Democratic party was that it was unconstitutional to levy tariff taxes except for the purpose of revenue only—that is, the protective tariff is unconstitutional. Now, we say tariff taxes should be levied, first, for the purpose of raising sufficient revenue to carry on all the business of this great Government and, in addition thereto, for the protection of American labor and industry. Now, what degree of protection should be accorded and upon what basis should it be imposed? I believe, Mr. Speaker, that the tariff should be sufficient in extent to enable persons engaged in production in any industry, agricultural or manufacturing, to pay the American rate of wages and receive a fair return upon the capital invested. I believe that should be the general principle.

I do not go so far as to say it can be applied with mathematical exactness. It is subject to all human conditions. It is subject to the same conditions and infirmities that apply in connection with all legislation that has relation to human conditions, but so far as it can be practicably applied, in my judgment that rule should be applied. I believe it should be universally operative everywhere. I believe it should be applied for the benefit of the sugar planters in Louisiana as well as for the lime producer in Maine. I believe it should apply protection to the fruit grower of California as well as the lumberman in the State of Maine, or the steel manufacturer in Pennsylvania, and wherever a tariff now exists or a business exists that requires the application of that proposition in order to enable the payment of a fair rate of American wage and a fair return by way of income upon the capital invested, there, I believe, it should be applied. I would not remove a tariff on a product of the West for the benefit of the East, nor would I vote to remove it on an article produced by a manufacturer in the East for the benefit of the West, where it was necessary in order to enable the results above indicated to be attained.

I would make no discriminations so far as persons are concerned. I do not understand when we are legislating, Mr. Speaker, upon fiscal policies of this Government, that we are legislating in the interest of political parties.

BUSINESS KNOWS NO POLITICS. IT IS NEITHER DEMOCRATIC NOR REPUBLICAN.

Investment anywhere and everywhere is entitled to the same equitable treatment from the Government. I said that I would impose it so as to enable a fair return upon the capital invested. What do I mean by that? I mean just exactly this, just exactly what I say—*capital invested*. I do not mean overcapitalization; I do not mean wind and water.

Let me give a concrete illustration. Take, for instance, a corporation with a capital of \$100,000, but with a capitalization, we will say, of a million, for the purpose of making the illustration more obvious. I do not believe that a tariff should be imposed under such circumstances, so as to enable a corporation to declare dividends upon a million of capitalization. I believe it should be imposed so as to enable the industry to pay a fair income upon the capital actually invested—\$100,000.

NOW, IT IS SAID, MR. SPEAKER, THAT GOODS ARE SOMETIMES SOLD ABROAD CHEAPER THAN THEY ARE AT HOME.

I suppose that is true. I know that, as a matter of fact, in connection with many large business industries in this country, goods are sold in this country at a distance from their place of manufacture more cheaply than in the place where they are manufactured.

I can reach out my hand here and put it upon the head of a Congressman who is engaged in the manufacture of a product, and who sells that product cheaper 150 miles from his home than he does in his home, and whose competitors 150 or 300 miles away sell in his home cheaper than they sell at the place where the goods are manufactured by them. It is simply one of the natural evolutions in the development of business. I am not able to assert that this is an unvarying and universal incident of business, but I know that it exists in many instances and is not therefore necessarily an abnormal condition. Now, so far as a sale abroad cheaper than at home is due to that same business condition and the operation of that same business factor, I would not interfere with it; but wherever a manufacturer or a producer is able to sell his product cheaper abroad than at home by reason of the operation of a tariff, because thereof, so that the relation of cause and effect can be established in connection with the situation, I believe that the tariff should be reduced so far as is necessary to prevent the production of that result. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

I speak, of course, for myself. I do not control the policy of the Republican party, but I believe that to be the policy of the Republican party upon this proposition. [Applause on the Republican side.] Now mark this. Take the propositions as I make them. I am going to be entirely frank about it. Take the proposition as I make it: Whenever and wherever a manufacturer is able *by reason of the tariff, as a result thereof, when the relation of cause and effect can be established in connection with the situation*, to sell abroad cheaper than he sells at home, I would deprive him of so much of the protection as was necessary in order to prevent that result. [Applause.] I do not know of any Republican that takes any other ground, so far as that is concerned. [Applause.]

THE MAN DOES NOT LIVE, AND HAS NOT STOOD IN SHOES, WHO CAN DEMONSTRATE THE PROPOSITION THAT THE PROTECTIVE TARIFF IS WHAT IT IS CALLED, "THE MOTHER OF TRUSTS."

When it comes to the question of the relation of the tariff to trusts, I desire to say that the man does not live and has not stood in shoes who can demonstrate the proposition that the protective tariff is what is called "the mother of trusts." [Applause on the Republican side.] I concede that the trust, if there be a trust, which is engaged in the manufacture of an article and the individual competitor may both receive the protection of the tariff, but it can not be demonstrated, even for a moment, that the mother or creator of any trust is the tariff; nor is it logical nor is it sensible to undertake to repeal the tariff in order to eliminate or exterminate a trust.

Let me analyze that proposition for a moment. The tariff, it is charged, is the creator of the trust. If that be true, then the tariff is the creator and the trust the creature, and vice versa. No reason is perceived why the same rule

would not apply to this as to every other condition. Then wherever you found the creator you would expect to find the creature, and where the creature was there would be found the creator. But we have many articles, products as to which there is no tariff, the Standard Oil Company's being the most conspicuous example. It is a trust par excellence, and there has never been any tariff on its product. Then we have trusts innumerable in free-trade countries, England being honeycombed with them. Here, then, you have creatures without creators or shelters.

On the other hand, there are many articles on the protected list as to which there are no trusts. There you have the creator and shelter without any creature, and an unutilized shelter. Suppose the Democracy applied its theory of repealing the tariff to destroy a trust, what then? This would be the practical operation of this alleged panacea. Let us take the tin industry. It is claimed that a trust controls quite a portion of the product. But besides the trust there are a goodly number of independent operators. In the contest between the independent operator and the trust, by reason of the fact that the quantity produced by the trust enables it to take advantage of all the elements involved in doing a large business and gets favors by way of transportation facilities and charges on account of the quantity handled, the small, independent operator is unable to compete and is continually going to the wall.

THIS KILLING OUT OF COMPETITION IS AN ESSENTIAL INCIDENT OF THE TRUST MOVEMENT.

If the small, independent operator could hold his own and compete, no harm could come to the public, as his ability and competition would regulate the price and prevent oppression. But the fact is the other way. The tariff on tin, it is clear, gives the same protection to the independent operator and the trust; no more and no less. *If the foreign manufacturer is let in by a repeal of the tariff, the independent operator, being the weakest, goes to the wall first, leaving the field to the trust, and you have accomplished precisely the end desired by the trust. That is just what the trust wants, and just what we don't want. But you say, "We will drive the trust itself out of business."*

Then you would have no tin manufactured in this country, and you would be turned over absolutely to the mercy of a foreign trust, over which we have absolutely no control, precisely where we were before the imposition of the tariff; and in depriving the trust of the "shelter" of the tariff, at the same time depriving the American people of the "shelter" of the tariff, and conferring upon them the high and endearing privilege of paying some twelve millions more for their tin than they are now paying.

This is Democratic statesmanship of the most recent vintage. That this is not overdrawn will appear from a bill now pending before the Ways and Means Committee, introduced by Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee, which provides, as to "articles and commodities manufactured and controlled or produced in the United States by a trust or trusts, the importation of such articles and commodities from foreign countries shall be free of duty until, in the opinion of the President and Secretary of the Treasury, such manufacture, control, or production shall have ceased." (H. R. 3570.)

It will be observed that this bill proceeds on the assumption that the repeal of the duty will destroy the manufacture or the industry, and, if necessary, it

proposes, for illustration, inasmuch as some tin is "manufactured and controlled or produced" by a trust, to take the duty off until the "manufacture, control, or production shall have ceased" and the tin industry is no more. And the Democracy thinks that is legislation adequately adapted to a desirable result.

I have said that I believe a tariff should be imposed upon these general grounds, on a universal principle, giving industries everywhere the same benefit and same advantage to accomplish this result. I do not believe that principle should be violated by legislation on the floor of this House, nor do I believe that it should be violated or infringed by any form of reciprocity, alleged to be genuine or otherwise. I believe reciprocity should be applied, if applied, precisely in the manner indicated by the sainted McKinley when he made his speech in Buffalo, N. Y., his last message to the American people, so as not to interfere with any domestic production or any domestic manufacture. Any assertion that he made any other declaration is a deliberate perversion of his language. [Applause on the Republican side.] Now, I go further. I am unalterably opposed to the unconstitutional assumption upon the part of some gentlemen in the Republic that there is another body—and I refer to the executive as represented by the Senate—which has the power to change a single tariff schedule by the ratification of a reciprocity treaty. [Applause.]

I believe that the control of the purse is the key to the liberties of the American people, and I believe that the Constitution of the United States vested the exclusive control of power to originate revenue legislation in this body, which is the direct representative of the people. [Prolonged applause.] I believe that when the Senate acts in ratifying a treaty it acts in its executive, and not in its legislative capacity. I believe that the revision of a tariff schedule, or the change of a fiscal law, or its modification in any way is an act of legislation, and not an act of executive administration.

I do not believe that negotiating an international contract which, except by an extraordinary use of language, is no part of the law of nations at all—simply a contract—can constitutionally change the fiscal policy of this country.

DEFICIT—PANICS.

Mr. Speaker, these are my views as to the principles on which tariff legislation should be based. I believe that the House should preserve in this respect its rights, its privileges, its prerogatives. The right to amend fiscal schedules and enact tariff legislation is vested here by the Constitution—not necessarily because they are our privileges or our rights or our prerogatives, but because they are essential to the preservation of the rights and liberties of the people whom we represent.

I want to say a few words about the results of these two policies as affecting this great country in which we live. My friend from New York [Mr. COCKRAN] said in his speech that deficit practically resulted in a panic. I would quote his language if I had it at hand. I want to call the attention of the gentlemen to the fact that he was in error when he suggested that there was a deficiency in the revenues of the Republic as compared with its expenditures prior to the advent of the Democratic administration in 1892. I have here a list showing the deficiency of revenue during a term of years as compared with the expenditures; and there never was any deficiency of revenue as compared with expenditures

from 1865 down to 1893, the date of the advent of the Democratic Administration. [Applause on the Republican side.] I agree with the gentleman that deficit indicates panic, and therefore that surplus contraindicates panic—indicates prosperity. I would be glad if I had the time to read the vigorous and expressive language that the gentleman uses in describing the results of such panics.

A surplus indicates prosperity; and, if we take into account the unusual expenditures involved in the war with Spain, from 1902 until now we have had, and still have, a surplus indicating this prosperity.

From July 1, 1893, to July 1, 1897, the interest-bearing debt increased \$262,323,030. From July 1, 1897, to July 1, 1902, five years, the interest-bearing debt increased only \$83,704,210, although during that period the Spanish and Philippine wars were fought, at an expense variously estimated at from \$500,000,000 to \$700,000,000.

The Cleveland Administration paid on the public debt only \$13,400,047, while the McKinley Administration paid \$113,000,000. The McKinley Administration refunded \$445,940,750 at a rate of 2 per cent.—a rate unprecedented in financial history—and reduced the annual interest charges \$4,518,255.

For the four years ending June 30, 1897, our exports exceeded our imports only \$701,859,558. During the five McKinley years thereafter the excess was \$2,832,840,666, or an average of \$566,568,133 per year, the yearly average being only \$135,291,425 less than the aggregate of four years under Cleveland. The excess under the Dingley tariff is more than the excess from 1790 to date of its enactment, five Dingley years being more than one hundred and eight preceding years.

DEMOCRATIC DEFICIT: DISTRESS AND DISASTER. REPUBLICAN SURPLUS: PROSPERITY AND HAPPINESS.

In thirty-five months under the Wilson bill, aided by a Democratic Administration, the revenues showed a deficit as compared with the expenditures of \$105,180,701, as against an excess during a like period under the Dingley bill of \$57,000,000. In 1897 the net expense exceeded the net revenue \$18,033,454. In 1901 the revenue exceeded the expenses \$76,717,984. Do the gentlemen on the other side think that this aching void can be filled with rhetoric however brilliant or declamation however energetic and forceful? Democratic deficit, distress, and disaster. Republican surplus, prosperity, and happiness. This may have been the result of ignorance and incapacity, great errors of policy, but there is a disgraceful chapter in the history of the last Democratic Administration that can not be thus extenuated.

If I had time, I should like to call attention in detail to the negotiation of that loan of \$62,315,400, in 1895, for thirty years, at 4 per cent., by the Democratic Administration, with John G. Carlisle as Secretary of the Treasury, when he negotiated to August Belmont and J. Pierpont Morgan, money changers in Wall street, a loan of \$62,313,400, when at the very time of its delivery it appears that they were receiving in premiums \$10,000,000 profit out of the the Treasury of the United States. [Applause on the Republican side.]

These are the figures, showing the dates of delivery of the loan that was sold at 1.04 1-2, showing the premium in excess of the sum paid by the syndicate, which the Government would have received if it had negotiated its own bonds.

Date of delivery	Amount.	Valuation.	Premium in excess of 1.04½.
March 18, 1895.....	\$28,807,900	1.197½	\$4,429,214.00
April, 1895.....	2,349,800	1.20¼	381,712.50
July 29, 1895.....	31,157,700	1.23½	5,919,963.00
Total.....	\$62,315,400	.....	\$10,730,889.50

And yet my Democratic friends say here that they want to remove the Republican party from power in order that they may deprive us of the ability to steal the revenues accumulated by the United States Government, when at that time and under those circumstances they delivered themselves body and soul, brains, blood, and bones into the hands of this money-changing syndicate and bartered which a Democratic Administration stood self-confessed as unable to do. Search the record of the Republican party in vain for the instance where it was obliged to supplicate private bankers to maintain the credit of the greatest people on earth. Now, for a moment, let me contrast that with the McKinley Administration, which negotiated a loan of \$200,000,000 in 1898 on the threshold of what was expected to be a vast war with Spain.

It did not turn out to be, because it was simply a contest between the civilization of the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries and it turned out that wherever the civilization of the sixteenth century met the civilization of the nineteenth, either upon land or upon sea, the older vanished before the new as the hoar frost vanishes before the rising morning sun. This \$200,000,000 was negotiated at the rate of 3 per cent. for twenty years, negotiated to the American people, seven times over-subscribed, and in amounts largely from \$20 to \$500. This is the record of these two great parties. Blazon it. Proclaim it from the house tops. Tell it in the market places. "He that hath ears to hear let him hear."

This is the record of these two great parties. These are their financial achievements, and the results that we see around us every day are the results that have been distributed and disseminated through the Republic by the operation of these policies; and when the arbitrament comes in November, what think you will be the judgment of the intelligent, law-abiding, God-fearing American people? Will they say that the party whose power and control of the Republic has always been signalized by a long trail of destruction, devastation, distress, depression, and ruin shall be vested again with its control? I think not.

On the contrary, I think they will say that the control of affairs shall remain in the hands of the great party, human though it may be, liable to mistakes though it may be, that has controlled and directed the mightiest Republic the world ever saw in its triumphal march along the great highway of nations, its progress signalized by a magnificent prosperity, unparalleled and unapproached since the morning stars sang together, a progress attended by a grandeur, a glory, and a splendor that is at once the unbounded admiration and the helpless emulation of every other land that the sun shines on. [Prolonged applause on the Republican side.]

FREE TRADE AND PROTECTION COMPARED.

EXTRACTS

From a

SPEECH

BY

Hon. James T. McCleary

OF MINNESOTA

In the

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, April 22, 1904



FROM THE REMARKS OF HON. JAMES T. McCLEARY OF MINNESOTA

Mr. McCLEARY said:

Mr. Speaker: Even protectionists sometimes say that while they do not believe in free trade as a practical policy they are willing to admit that it seems good in theory.

FREE TRADE NOT EVEN GOOD THEORY.

The saving word in that statement is the word "seems." In fact, free trade is not good even in theory. *Prima facie*, no theory is good that does not "work." Without the demonstration it is at best simply a hypothesis. The late Hon. W. D. Kelley, of Pennsylvania, "Pig Iron" Kelley, so long an honored member of this House, well described free trade as "the science of assumptions."

The first and fundamental fallacy of free trade as a theory is its *lack of patriotism*. It professes to entertain a broad humanitarianism. It prides itself on having as much consideration for people at the uttermost ends of the earth as it entertains for the people of its own country. Mr. Chairman, I would feel like doubting both the virtue and the good sense of any man who considered, or professed to consider, everyone as much entitled to his solicitude as the members of his own family. By law, both human and divine, a nation is a great family whose interests are directly interdependent. Protectionists take as the basis of their policy the Scriptural precept: "He that careth not for his own hath denied the faith and is worse than an infidel."

The first duty of a nation is to be prepared at all times to defend its existence. Free trade, both as a theory and as a policy, would leave us utterly unprepared for war. Surely the people of the South should, through bitter experience, have thoroughly learned this lesson. Wedded to slavery, they looked down on labor. They were the "consumers;" they had only contempt for "producers," and hence they thought only of getting manufactured goods as cheaply as possible.

They had no desire to accept or enjoy the legitimate fruits of protection. Indeed, for nearly a generation before the breaking out of the civil war, except the four years from 1842 to 1846, this country had been dominated by the Southern idea of aversion to a protective tariff. When the Southern Confederacy was established it perpetuated its free-trade ideas by embodying in the Confederate constitution this provision:

"Nor shall any duties or taxes on importations from foreign nations be laid to promote or to foster any branch of industry."

On the other hand, just before the breaking out of the war the National Government had enacted the Morrill tariff law, which gave adequate protection to our industries. So that here we had a test of two theories as to their relative usefulness in war.

In this connection I quote the eloquent words of former Senator John P. Jones, of Nevada, in his great speech in the United States Senate in 1890—one of the greatest speeches on the tariff ever delivered—entitled

“SHALL THE REPUBLIC DO ITS OWN WORK?”

“The most instructive lesson of American history—indeed, the most impressive economic lesson of all history—is that afforded in a great crisis by the industrial impotence of our Southern States, resulting from their persistent neglect of the mechanical arts and of diversified industries.

“When the South declared war it was found that its people could create nothing of practical utility. Their orators and stump speakers, who led them into the war, could spin “yarns,” but not of cotton; they could weave sentences, but not woollens. They could make speeches, but could not make engines. They could make verses, but not vestments. They could talk learnedly of the rights of man, but could not supply the wants of man. They could write flaming essays on courage, but could not make a gun or canister of powder. They could organize armies, but not industries. They could inspire their troops with enthusiasm, but could not supply them with blankets.

“With all their cotton, they could not make a handkerchief. With quantities of sheep and all natural facilities for producing wool and turning it into cloth, they could not make a coat. With every opportunity for the establishment of manufactures, they could not make a needle, a knife, a bayonet, or a button. With ample natural resources, and with opportunities equal to those of the North, the people of the South, *looking only to the moment and never to the morrow*, permitted iron, coal, and other valuable minerals in illimitable quantities to lie inert and useless in their fields.

“They could produce nothing but the raw materials of agriculture, and but little variety even of those. There was a civilization that ‘disdained to be useful, and was content to be stationary.’

“When, therefore, in the hour of their utmost need they wanted clothing, arms, munitions, and means of transportation, they were without factories, foundries, mills, machine shops, railroads, tools, *and skilled workmen*. Had it not been for their slaves they would have been without food. Their soldiers suffered for want of proper clothing, some of them even dying of cold, and many, especially toward the close of the war, wearing uniforms made from rag carpet. *Like helpless aborigines, they were obliged to look to their enemy for every resource of warfare.*

“But this was not because the people of the South were wanting in ability. It was not that they lacked great qualities, not that they were destitute of the mental and physical characteristics of the great creative race from which, in common with the people of the North, they had sprung and to which they belong. In every department of effort to which they had directed attention, they had displayed all the ability characteristic of that race. They had the same innate qualities which all the people of that race possess, but the greatest of those qualities they never exercised. The creative and inventive faculties were never brought forth.

“The lack of diversified industries is destructive in time of war, but, like the ‘dry rot,’ it is none the less operative in time of peace and none the less certain to culminate in disaster.

* * * * *

“The trouble with the South, Mr. President, was that in the case of its working classes the hand had been at work without the brain, and in the case of the intellectual classes the brain had been at work without the hand. One worked without thinking, and the other thought without working.

At the North, on the contrary, the great bulk of the population had been working, and to-day continue working with hand and brain in unison. The exact training of the mechanic of the North, under conditions which gave ample room for the expansion of his mind and the development of his intellect, had produced a race of mechanics who, compared with the mechanics of other countries, must be classed as intellectual athletes. These are the men who win wars—men of ingenuity, of resource, of high intelligence, of physical strength, of undaunted courage. Those are the reliance of a nation in war, each other’s best customers in peace.

Those are the men who build up great communities. It is to those that the people of this country must look for their prosperity.

"A nation that does not perform its own work and possess, in the body of its citizenship, the mental as well as physical force wherewith to carry on every process of industry, from the production of the raw material to the last stage of its development and transformation, will be the helpless prey of national marauders. *Without mechanical and manufacturing resources and capacity, no people can maintain prosperity or independence.*

"Any nation that desired the mastership of the world could achieve supremacy without a blow if the other nations of the earth would permit it to become their manufacturer. They would become powerless against it in war, as they would be tributary to and dependent upon it in peace.

* * * * *

"A people, however brave, engaged exclusively in farming pursuits can never hope to cope with a people of the same origin whose diversified vocations enable them indefinitely to feed, clothe, and move armies, overcome interior intrenched lines by concentrated systems of railway, and, through their large plants, organized workshops, and independent army of skilled artisans, maintain supplies of improved and elaborate small-arms, artillery, and ammunition, and improvise ingenious and effective weapons and works of offense and defense.

"The success of the North was due to the wise, patriotic, and far-sighted policy of its people in adopting at the outbreak of the war the protective policy through which a wide diversity of industries was established and maintained. That policy they will continue and enlarge. But the lesson which history teaches of the defeat and discomfiture of the South seems lost upon the survivors of the lost cause, whose clamor for a low tariff would, if successful, lay this whole country as prostrate and helpless as they found their own States in 1865."

In support of the view so admirably expressed by Senator Jones, the following extract from a book entitled

"DESTRUCTION AND RECONSTRUCTION."

The book was written by Richard Taylor, a son of President Zachary Taylor, and a lieutenant-general in the Confederate Army. Speaking of the difficulties encountered by the South in the war, General Taylor says:

"We suffered less from inferiority of numbers than from want of mechanical resources. Most of the mechanics employed in the South were Northern men, and returned to their section at the outbreak of the war. The loss of New Orleans, our only large city, aggravated this trouble, and we had no means of repairing the long lines of railway, nor the plant. Even when unbroken by raids, wear and tear rendered them inefficient at an early period of the struggle. This had a more direct influence on the sudden downfall of the Confederacy than is generally supposed."

Another fundamental fallacy of free trade is its inability to comprehend the truth that *political independence can not become entirely secure without industrial independence.*

We declared our political independence in 1776. It took seven years of war to secure England's recognition of that independence. Why did the war last so long? Primarily because our industries had not been developed. With great and varied natural resources and the finest type of people, we had not been permitted to develop diversified industries. We had been compelled to remain producers of "raw material," and when the Revolutionary war broke out we found ourselves "poor indeed."

We had comparatively few of the munitions of war, and, *what was worse, we had not developed the facilities for producing them.* Had it not been for the fact that England was at that same time engaged in war with France, Spain, and Holland, we should probably have failed utterly. And why? *For want of facil-*

ities and developed skill to produce here what we needed. Whenever we think of the Revolutionary war, before our mental vision come pictures of the sufferings of our fathers from poverty and want.

But after peace had been restored our people, for reasons indicated early in these remarks, declined to give to the Federal Government under the Articles of Confederation any power to regulate commerce among the States and with foreign nations. Each of the States regulated its own commerce and most of them had "free trade" with England.

Bolle's standard work on *The Financial History of the United States* (Volume II, page 437) says:

"From 1783 to 1789 the trade of the thirteen old States was perfectly free to the whole world. The result was that Great Britain filled every section of our country with her manufactures of wool, cotton, linen, leather, iron, glass, and all other articles used here; and in four years she swept from the country every dollar and every piece of gold."

From Hildreth's well-known *History of the United States* (Vol. III, p. 465) we get this picture of the situation:

"The large importation of foreign goods, subject to little or no duty, and sold at peace prices, was proving ruinous to all those domestic manufactures and mechanical employments which the non-consumption agreements and the war had created and fostered. Immediately after the peace, the country had been flooded with imported goods, and debts had been unwarily contracted, for which there was no means to pay."

In his great *History of the Constitution* (Vol. I, p. 432), Bancroft, speaking of this same period, says:

"It is certain that the English have the trade of these States almost wholly in their hands, whereby their influence must increase, and a constantly increasing scarcity of money begins to be felt, since no ship sails hence to England without large sums of money on board, especially the English packet boats, which monthly take with them between forty and fifty thousand pounds sterling. * * *

"The scarcity of money makes the produce of the country cheap, to the disappointment of the farmers and the discouragement of husbandry. Thus the two classes, merchants and farmers, that divide nearly all America, are discontented and distressed."

Senator GALLINGER, of New Hampshire, in his great speech, "American Tariffs from Plymouth Rock to McKinley," well says, in speaking of conditions at that time:

"Free trade was the starting point. It was quickly followed by imports largely in excess of exports; then by a glut of foreign productions; then by suspension of our own manufactures of all kinds; then by a gradual but complete loss of all our specie; then by the necessary stoppage of most of our business; then by the enforced idleness of our laborers and artisans; then by universal debt; then by a crushing depreciation of real estate; then by a positive inability on the part of nearly everybody to pay their debts; then by general distress and financial ruin; and finally, by insurrections and rebellions which threatened destruction to the life and liberties of the nation.

"As this was the closest approach to absolute free trade ever tried by this country, so there was the largest harvest of dangers and calamities ever experienced by the American people." (Mason.)

It began to look as if our hard-won political independence would be lost again. It became evident to the thoughtful and farsighted, such as Washington, Madison, John Adams, and others, that if the United States was to survive as a nation another plan of union must be adopted, one in which, for the general good, the

power to regulate commerce among the States and with foreign nations should be intrusted to the General Government.

This was one of the chief reasons why we abandoned the Articles of Confederation and adopted our present Constitution.

And, it will be remembered, that the first Congress under the Constitution promptly passed a tariff having for one of its avowed purposes "*the encouragement and protection of manufactures.*"

No wonder the people called that act "Our second Declaration of Independence."

And, yet, notwithstanding such experiences, our Democratic brethren, who talk so much about the Constitution and who—sincerely, no doubt—profess so much devotion to its principles, seem now willing to abandon *the very purposes* for which it was "ordained and established."

To maintain our political independence it may be necessary at any time to defend ourselves against hostile armies and navies. We are now so powerful and so far removed from other great nations, that there would seem to be little danger of our getting into war. But no one can guarantee us continued peace. In 1896 or 1897 who would have dared to predict that within a year or two we would be engaged in a foreign war? It came in 1898 like a thunderclap from a clear sky.

How shall we prepare for such a possibility? Shall we go on heedless of what may come? Shall we depend on buying from foreign countries in the hour of need our munitions of war? What if the country from which we expect to buy should prove to be our antagonist? Shall we buy in advance and store the things we may need? If so, how much shall we buy, and how long will it be before our purchases have become obsolete? Or would it be wiser to develop our own resources and train our own people in making what we need? If so, why not develop also those resources and train those faculties in times of peace?

**"FREE TRADE" WOULD HAVE US SATISFIED TO ACQUIRE THE
ARTICLE; PROTECTION DEMANDS THAT WE
ACQUIRE THE ART.**

As a matter of fact, in 1898 we were very poorly prepared for war; but with our great resources of material and skilled mechanics we soon got ready. We do not need a large standing army so long as we keep up the high standard among our workmen. They and their skill to "do things" constitute our best "reserves."

This suggests another fundamental fallacy of "free trade" both as a theory and as a policy, namely, that it *overestimates the worth of things and underestimates the worth of men*; it reaches for the article but spurns the artisan. Protection, on the other hand, cares, first of all, for the artisan, knowing that with him the country will get both the art in its highest form and the article on the most favorable terms.

In the eloquent words of Senator Jones, in the speech before referred to:

"Free trade would banish those establishments and would exchange skilled mechanics for cheap doorknobs or cheap cutlery. It would reject the knowledge of useful arts in order to save for the moment a few cents a yard on woolen cloth or cotton ties or a few cents a pound on tin plate. *Protection secures the arts and protects the artists.* It transforms ignorance into knowledge, indifference into zeal, inertia into activity, impotence into power.

* * * * *

"In none of this work would free trade aid or encourage us. On the contrary, its motto is to buy wherever it may buy cheapest to-day, without regard to the future or to the country in which it buys. *It is distinctly founded on individual*

selfishness. It looks only to the temporary advantage of the individual, and takes no thought for the future or for the community. The protective policy is founded on a higher form of selfishness, the selfishness of the nation, which is but another name for patriotism.

"Free trade brings the watch, protection brings the watchmaker; free trade brings the machine, protection the machinist; free trade brings the engine, protection the engineer. Given the men, we can not lack the machines. Having the art, we shall not want for the article. Possessing the producer, we shall not want for the product. Between them, who shall hesitate as to which is the more valuable to the country? Men found communities, machines do not; men constitute a society, machines do not."

Among the other numerous faults and fallacies of free trade, both as a theory and as a policy in this country, is *its utter lack of harmony with American ideals.*

Listen to a free trader making an argument. Whom does he appeal to, and how? There is no accident about the fact that his appeal is always to the "consumer" and never to the "producer." There is no accident about the fact that the one purpose of his life seems to be to buy things cheap.

"The leopard can not change his spots, nor the Ethiopian his skin." This instinctive attitude of the free trader brands his theory as having had its origin in a state of society where producers were looked down upon as not worth considering; where the "consumers" were those who "toiled not, neither did they spin."

The theory had its origin in a state of society founded on class distinctions, where some were born to rule and others to toil; where the industrial end aimed at was cheap goods to the rulers—the "consumers"—and to that end to the toiler low wages—or *none at all*. What more natural, then, that free traders should be more than willing that our "producers" should have to meet in "free" competition, on absolutely equal terms, the lowest-paid workers of the world?

PROTECTION OUR PROPER PERMANENT POLICY.

Protection, on the other hand, is based on the fundamental American idea of opposition to class distinctions. Protection is founded on the idea of the real and inherent dignity of labor directed with intelligence to a worthy end. Protection recognizes *usefulness* as the supreme badge of *nobleness*.

President Roosevelt struck the keynote of the whole matter when he said at Minneapolis on April 4, 1903:

"This country has and this country needs better paid, better educated, better fed, and better clothed workingmen, of a higher type than are to be found in any foreign country. It has and it needs a higher, more vigorous, and more prosperous type of tillers of the soil than is possessed by any other country."

Protection takes into consideration the entire sweep of history. It sees man in his beginnings in Asia, under the oriental idea of master and slave—few masters and many slaves. Protection recalls the movement of man toward the west, into Europe. For "the people" the movement was "westward and upward," until, on some islands just off the west coast of the continent of Europe, popular sovereignty, after various struggles with the throne, established human liberty and entrenched it in wisely ordained principles of law.

Mr. Chairman, from my boyhood up history and the problems of government have been my favorite studies. They have been to me a lifelong labor of love. And it does seem to me, sir, that a careful student of history can scarcely fail to be impressed with the idea that He who holds the fate of nations in the hollow of His hand has, from the beginning of human life on this globe, had a special purpose to serve by and through this beloved country of ours.

Think of our location and the territory that we occupy! Here we are in the north temperate zone, the zone of the highest possibilities of civilization, removed alike from the heat of the Torrid Zone, which undermines ambition, and the cold of the Frigid Zone, which renders it fruitless. Here we are with national limits inclosing the most fertile of lands, the greatest of forests, the richest of mines—with natural resources practically boundless.

Then look at our people. Who are they? In the main, our people are those from other lands, or their descendants, most characterized by loftiness of aim and sturdiness of purpose. In the main, the people who have come to our shores have belonged neither to the class enervated by wealth and station nor to the opposite class whose spirits have been broken by want. Our country has been the land of promise to those who have determined to establish a home and who have had the courage to break away from old associations—sacred though they be—and make the dangerous voyage across the sea to accomplish their purpose.

Think, Mr. Chairman, how old humanity was before this nation was permitted to be established! Think how much of training the world was required to pass through before this experiment in government was permitted to be tried!

Why, Mr. Chairman, this country and its institutions are the fruitage of the ages. Here, in a country separated from all other great nations by the broad waters of the oceans, it has been ordained shall be wrought out the highest and noblest problems of human existence. We owe it not only to ourselves, but to the rest of the world—yea, to Him who has given us this opportunity—we owe it to every consideration that can move men to lofty aim and earnest endeavor *not to permit any lowering of our standard of life and of purpose.*

Mr. Chairman, suppose two tanks of water on the ground side by side, one comparatively small, the other very large. Suppose that the water in the smaller tank stands considerably higher than the water in the larger tank. Now connect them with a pipe so that the water can flow freely between them. What will be the result? The water will soon be at the same level in the two tanks. But note, the water in the small tank will have been lowered greatly, while the water in the large tank will not have been raised appreciably!

The lesson is obvious. This country of 80,000,000 inhabitants contains only one-twentieth of the people of the world. Free trade would be like the pipe connecting the two tanks of water—it would at once begin to equalize conditions here and elsewhere. But, Mr. Chairman, while we would go down a long ways, the rest of the world would not be raised materially by the process.

No, Mr. Chairman; free trade would level down; protection is determined to level up. Protection recognizes fully its proper duty to humanity at large, for it recognizes the value of leadership and the worth of example. Humanity is not inert like water, but is endowed with the God-like trinity of powers—intellect, sensibility, and will. *Not by debasing ourselves* shall our service to the world at large be performed, but “acting well our part” in every sphere of our national duty. Then the peoples of the world, knowing what we are accomplishing, inspired by our example, will “highly resolve” to emulate our good works.

So, Mr. Chairman, for the sake of the people of other lands as well as of our own, we must at all hazards preserve and continue to exalt our high standard of living—material, mental, and moral. From whatever standpoint we look at the matter and by whatever standard we determine our path of national duty, we find it best to remain true to the proposition that “the work of America must

be done by the sons and daughters of America." And to that end we should definitely fix as our proper permanent policy that of amply adequate protection to American industry.

As I pointed out at the beginning of these remarks, we have a tariff because this is a Federal Republic in which local government, and consequently direct property taxation, are left to the several States, while international affairs and indirect taxation belong to the General Government. This Union of the American States on the principles of our Constitution is, in my deliberate judgment, the most valuable secular possession of the world to-day. Hundreds of thousands of human lives and thousands of millions of hard-earned treasure were freely offered and expended for its preservation, but it is worth infinitely more than it has cost.

Were it not for the incalculable value of this "indestructible Union of indestructible States," with its unequalled wedding of liberty with security, and the necessary consequence of raising a large part of our national revenues through duties on imports, I am frank to say that in my deliberate judgment *it would be best for us to prohibit entirely the importation of all articles the like of which we can produce in this country economically and in sufficient quantities to supply the wants of our people.*

This being impracticable for the reason just indicated, the next wisest course would be to place the tariff on such articles just enough below the line of absolute prohibition to permit enough importation to produce from the tariff the revenue required by the United States Government "economically administered." That is, sir, *it should be placed at the rate which would produce the maximum of revenue with the minimum of imports.*

Mr. Chairman, we who thoroughly believe in protection are reluctant to see a single day's work for Americans done elsewhere than here in America.

We stand by the proposition that the people of the United States can do their own work, fight their own battles, solve their own problems.

In our judgment, sir, nothing is cheap to the people of the United States which leaves our own resources undeveloped and our own people unemployed.

Free trade looks abroad for its products and for its safety; protection knows that both can best be secured at home.

Free trade would have us depend on others; protection thinks it wiser to depend on ourselves.

Free trade thinks that wealth is created by trading; protection knows that it results from producing.

Free trade would have us content to buy things; protection would have us cultivate the ability to make things.

Free trade fears that if the rest of the world were blotted out, this country would be unable to survive; protection has faith that we would still move on, practically undisturbed, and achieve a glorious destiny.

Free trade, in the last analysis, is based on shortsighted individual selfishness; protection is based on that larger and wiser selfishness that we call patriotism.

THE GREAT BASES OF PROTECTION.

A recent article in the San Francisco Chronicle states the whole fundamental doctrine of protection so briefly yet clearly that I can not forbear quoting from it, as follows:

"The economic policy known as protection is a cooperative agreement enacted into law whereby by means of duties on imports reasonable protection from the competition of foreigners is assured within the protected area to all domestic industries which, under such protection, are capable of supplying the home market. Its justification is economic and social; economic in that it conserves the natural resources of the land, avoids the waste of unnecessary carriage, and makes the nation self-sufficing, and therefore able in peace or war to support its population in comfort without regard to other nations; social in that it tends to maintain for future generations that standard of comfort which is the national ideal.

Protection is strictly national and can be nothing else, because national areas are essential to its effective operation and because nothing less than national authority will suffice for its enforcement. Conversely, the protected area must be coterminous with the national jurisdiction, because otherwise the law protects one part of the people against the competition of another part, and is therefore unjust. *Within the protected area competition is unlimited.*

"If under the protection of the tariff, effective combinations are in any case able to oppress—a condition which can only occasionally arise—it is a matter for regulation by domestic law.

"Protection must be impartial for all industries worthy of protection. When the protection of any worthy industry is impaired those concerned with that industry are made economic foreigners, forcibly expelled from the economic body politic, condemned, if they remain in that industry, to standards of life below the national ideal.

"Of necessity they become economic enemies of their protected fellow-citizens, and for their own protection must unite with other outside interests to break down the protective wall. *The victims of "reciprocity" dickers drift naturally into the free-trade camp.* If compelled to sell cheap they want to buy cheap. If forced to a lower standard of life they have no interest in maintaining a higher standard for those who were the cause of their own degradation. * * *

"The power of protection to affect the lives of mankind varies with the size and diversity of the protected area. Small countries which can not become self-sufficing may be compelled to sacrifice something which they *might* have in order to obtain other things which they *must* have. Germany is an example of a country which would be strictly protectionist, but is compelled to make reciprocity trades. France is the most nearly self-sufficing country of Europe, but it cannot produce cotton. Russia, when fully developed, will be self-sufficing, and we may be sure will be rigidly protectionist. Of all the nations in the world, *the United States alone is absolutely self-sufficing.* * * *

"With such a basis foreign trade is merely the outlet for the comparatively small surpluses at a profit, or a loss, as circumstances may permit. In this happy position the United States now stands. The business affairs of its people are adjusted to existing conditions. We are at the pinnacle of present material prosperity. We command the sources of immeasurable opportunity. All that we need to do is to *stand fast where we are and resolutely refuse to fritter our advantages away.*"

RECIPROCITY.

Our Democratic brethren seem quite taken just now with what my friend from Missouri, Mr. CLARK, calls "genuine reciprocity." But under the tariff policy advocated by my friend *no such thing as reciprocity is logically possible.*

Under his proposal of seven years ago, when he declared that he would tear down all custom-houses "from turret to foundation stone," of course it is entirely plain that, having no such thing as a tariff at all, it would be impossible to make tariff concessions to the people of any other country.

My friend has recently declared on this floor that he now regards his position expressed in 1897 as being, under existing circumstances, "theoretical" and not practical. I understand that now he favors a tariff for revenue *only*. Under such a tariff system, as explained near the beginning of these remarks, such tariff as we laid would be entirely on articles the like of which we *do not* and can not produce, such as tea and coffee.

With the necessity for taxing to the limit the comparatively few non-competing

articles that we import in large quantities in order to raise the required revenues, and with competing articles admitted free of duty—as in England, where Brother CLARK's tariff ideas are in actual operation—what opportunity would there be for reciprocal arrangements with any foreign country? As a matter of fact, sir, *under a system of "tariff for revenue only," reciprocity is both logically and practically impossible!*

This was conceded by Lord Salisbury, then prime minister of England, in a speech at Hastings, England, in May, 1892, when he said:

"We live in an age of a war of tariffs. Every nation is trying how it can, by agreement with its neighbor, get the greatest possible protection for its own industries, and at the same time the greatest possible access to the markets of its neighbors.

"The weapon with which they all fight is admission to their own markets—that is to say, A says to B, 'If you will make your duties such that I can sell in your markets I will make my duties such that you can sell in my market.'

"But we begin by saying we will levy no duties on anybody, and we declare that it would be contrary and disloyal to the glorious and sacred doctrine of free trade to levy any duty on anybody for the sake of what we can get by it. [Cheers.]

"It may be noble, but it is not business. [Loud cheers.]"

But a tariff for revenue with inadequate protection is the same in its results as a tariff for revenue only; that is, the foreign producer in either case, with his lower priced labor and with tools such as we have taught the world to make, can undermine and destroy American competition and dominate the American market. So why should he make any sacrifice to us as to his home market, when, with an inadequate tariff in this country, he would already have all that he could ask?

So that from any view point there is logically no place under Democratic policy for reciprocity of any kind, "genuine" or otherwise.

Why, then, do our Democratic brethren talk in favor of reciprocity? The motive is shown in the magazine article of my friend Mr. WILLIAMS, the Democratic leader on this floor, to which I referred earlier in these remarks. In that article—the one with the significant title "What Democracy *now* stands for"—he says:

"There is also a *tariff revision by piecemeal*, which is the handmaiden of the other system. It is very important in its place, although it ought never to be permitted to handicap the larger movement by general legislation. This is *tariff revision by reciprocal trade agreements with other nations.*"

So, frankly—and one reason for the regard in which Mr. WILLIAMS is held on both sides of this Chamber is his entire frankness—the leader of Democracy in this House, and practically its leader in the entire country, states that Democratic talk about reciprocity is simply to use what seems at this time a popular demand as a basis for the revision of the present tariff law.

Do Democrats really care for reciprocity? Listen to what was said of it in the official Democratic campaign text-book in 1902:

"Reciprocity is based upon the same false theories as is protection, and, like protection, is a sham and a humbug, and to most people has been, and will ever continue to be, a delusion and a snare."

Taking all these things together we get an insight into the entire purpose of our Democratic brethren in talking about reciprocity. *To them it is simply a flank movement against adequate protection to American industries.*

That this is the real animus of the whole business is shown in the following from the magazine article of Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi, before referred to:

"The general principle that protectionism is wrong, morally wrong, a prostitu-

tion of government to private ends, should never be forgotten. The goal ought not to be lost sight of."

What is the Republican position on this matter of reciprocity? It is clearly set forth in the Republican national platform of 1900, as follows:

"We favor the associated policy of reciprocity, so directed as to open our markets on favorable terms *for what we do not ourselves produce*, in return for free foreign markets."

An example of Republican reciprocity was seen in our arrangement with Brazil under the McKinley law. Brazil produces coffee, which we do not and can not produce economically and in sufficient quantities to supply any considerable fraction of the wants of our people. So we said to Brazil: "Admission to the great market of the United States for your chief export is a very valuable thing for you. Grant to our agricultural and other products terms that our President shall deem reciprocally equal or we authorize him to place on your coffee, by Executive proclamation, a duty of three cents per pound. Then, *with the coffee of other coffee-producing countries admitted here free*, in accordance with our general policy, your Brazilian coffee producers will not be able, under such competition, to pass the duty on to the consumer, but will have to pay it yourselves, reducing your profits to that extent."

Under such representation Brazil promptly and cheerfully entered into an agreement with this country which promised to be mutually profitable. Under that agreement our wheat and wheat flour, corn and corn meal, rye, rye flour, buckwheat, buckwheat flour, barley, potatoes, beans, pease, hay, oats, pork, and several other things were admitted to Brazil free of duty, while lard, butter, cheese, canned and preserved meats, fruits and vegetables, and many other things were admitted at a reduction of 25 per cent. from the regular rates. Under this agreement our people were increasing their sales in Brazil and the outlook was that the arrangement would prove mutually satisfactory to both countries.

Similar arrangements were made with several other countries of Central and South America—the countries that James G. Blaine was so especially anxious to reach with our trade as affording our most promising outlet. In fact, it was under his guidance as Secretary of State that these treaties were entered into.

But in 1893, by a strange whim of the people, the Democratic party came into power and, without even the courtesy of reasonable notice or a word of explanation, *abruptly abrogated all those reciprocity agreements.*

So it will hardly come with good grace from them now to mention reciprocity, "genuine" or otherwise. Their theory is incompatible with it and their practice unfriendly to it.

These agreements illustrate the only kind of reciprocity ever advocated by the Republican party or by any recognized leader of it. They were negotiated under the McKinley law of 1890 and well illustrate what our martyred President meant when, at Buffalo, he said:

"By sensible trade arrangements, *which will not interrupt our home production*, we shall extend the outlets for our increasing surplus. * * * We should take from our customers such of their products as we can use *without harm to our industries and labor*. Reciprocity is the natural outgrowth of our wonderful industrial development *under the domestic policy now firmly established.*"

But no Republican national convention ever declared for "reciprocity" in *competing* products, nor did any recognized leader of the party ever seriously advocate such a thing. To do that would be to sacrifice the interests of some of our own people to the interests of others of our own people, which would be entirely out of harmony with the spirit and purpose of a protective tariff.

FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC PRICES OF GOODS.

In the effort to undermine the confidence of the American people in the operations of the Dingley Act much will be said in the coming campaign to the effect that goods are sold by American manufacturers in foreign markets cheaper than at home. Much will, of course, be made of the little amount of truth contained in this assertion. Let us examine this matter and see how much weight should be attached to it.

It used to be claimed by the opponents of protective tariff that under its operations it would be impossible for us to make any headway in selling our manufactured goods in the markets of the world. On page 538 of the latest statistical abstract of the United States is a table showing the progress of the United States in its material industries. From this table I take the following figures:

In the year 1800 our export of domestic manufactures amounted to \$2,493,755, or 7.83 per cent of our total exports. In 1860 our exports of manufactures had grown to \$40,345,892, or 12.76 per cent. of our total exports. Protectionists take pride in the fact that in 1903 we exported manufactured goods to the amount of \$407,526,159, or 29.28 per cent. of our total exports.

Mr. Chairman, protectionists may well find a source of pride in this exhibit of the result of forty years of a protective tariff, uninterrupted save by the four years from 1893 to 1897. We rank third among the nations of the earth in the value of our exports of manufactured goods. In this respect Great Britain is still far in the lead, with exports of manufactured goods amounting to over \$1,000,000,000. Germany is second, with exports of something over \$700,000,000. And by the way, Mr. Chairman, *the enormous exports of these two countries should serve us as a warning that we can not trifle with the situation.* Open the gate but a little way, and with the sagacity and enterprise for which they are famous, they will enter in and undermine our industries.

It is a matter for just pride, Mr. Chairman, that we have so greatly increased the amount of the manufactured goods which we export, and those who believe in the Dingley bill can point with pride to the fact that under its operation the value of our manufactured goods exported has, in seven years, *practically doubled.*

But, Mr. Chairman, there is another fact in this connection that is of immensely greater importance than the one which I have cited.

According to the census of 1900 the total value of the goods manufactured in the United States in that year was a little over \$13,000,000,000. In the year 1900 we exported from the United States \$433,851,756 worth of manufactured goods; that is, Mr. Chairman, we exported 3 per cent. of what we produced. The stupendous fact, Mr. Chairman, the fact which we must not lose sight of nor fail to estimate the importance of, is the fact that out of the entire \$13,000,000,000 worth of goods manufactured in the United States *our own people have been able to use or keep 97 per cent.* Why, Mr. Chairman, rather than let go of the conditions under which such a mighty result has been accomplished we could well afford, if necessary, to throw the other 3 per cent. into the ocean!

But we have not thrown it into the ocean. The goods have been sold in foreign lands. Even if they had all been given away or sold for less than the selling price at home, that fact would be of small relative importance. But instead of being sold at smaller prices than at home, more than 90 per cent. of them were sold as high or higher in foreign lands than in the United States.

In the summer of 1901 I spent several months in Europe investigating conditions. One of the lines of my investigation was this very one of prices of American goods at home and abroad. In different cities in the ten countries visited I

made it a point to go into stores and, as a possible customer, ask the prices of articles with whose prices at home I was familiar. *Practically without exception I found the prices of American goods higher everywhere in Europe than in the United States.*

And wherever the price was lower there was always a good reason for it. For instance, in Scotland I found a man who had just bought a new McCormick binder, I asked him how much he paid for it. He said £19, about \$95 in our money. Inasmuch as a new McCormick binder would cost in Minnesota about \$120, I made investigation to ascertain why and how he was able to buy such a binder for what was apparently less than the Minnesota price. It soon developed that while the machine was new, that is, while it had never been used, *it had been made in 1897 (a model then four years old in the United States) and could have been bought in Minnesota for \$85!*

Mr. Chairman, careful statistics have been gathered on this subject of the prices of American manufactured goods abroad and at home. These statistics show that of the stupendous amount of manufactured goods produced in the United States, 97 per cent. is consumed in the United States. They show also that of the 3 per cent. sold abroad, more than 90 per cent. is sold as high or higher than at home, and that less than 10 per cent. of that which is shipped abroad is sold for a lower price than at home.

In order that we may see the point more clearly, let us think of it in another way. Of every \$100 worth of manufactured goods produced in the United States we consume at home \$97 worth. Of the \$3 worth shipped abroad more than 90 per cent is sold as high or higher than at home. That accounts for \$2.70 worth more, or \$99.70 worth of the goods in all. That leaves less than 30 cents' worth sold abroad lower than at home. Democratic statesmanship invites us to let go of the \$99.70 worth in order to get a chance at a part of the 30 cents' worth!

Mr. Chairman, let us now look for a moment at this little 30-cent business, of which our Democratic brethren will undoubtedly try to make much.

The sale of a portion of our products abroad at a reduced price *is not at all a question of the tariff. It is a mere question of business.* Great Britain, with her so-called "free-trade," always has practiced that policy and does to-day. The advice of Lord Brougham in 1816, which I quoted earlier in my remarks, is to the point. Some of these sales are for the purpose of getting rid of out-of-date goods; some of them are for the sake of getting rid of a temporary surplus, so that the factories may not be closed down; some of them are due to the fact that the sales are cash sales and in considerable quantities; some of them are due to the struggle for a new market—that is, *every one of these sales is made for a purely business reason, wholly disconnected from our having or not having a protective tariff.*

But, Mr. Chairman, whatever may be said on this subject, let us not forget that the whole thing is relatively only a "thirty cent" matter, and that in whatever consideration we may give it we must not lose sight of the fact that under our protective system our people have grown so enormously in their power to consume, they are so well housed, so well clothed, so well fed, and have and enjoy so many of the comforts of life, that *we use here at home 97 per cent. of our entire manufactured product!*

According to Mulhall's (English) Dictionary of Statistics, the people of the United States manufacture about one-third of all the goods manufactured in the world. It can readily be seen, therefore, how valuable a thing our home market is

and therefore how exceedingly careful we should be to protect it and defend it in the interests of our own people. Those who would have us chase after foreign markets at the risk of losing our own, forget, if they ever knew, that *the internal commerce of the United States amounts to more than twice as much each year as the international commerce of all the rest of the world put together!* Let us not be beguiled, Mr. Chairman, into forgetting this fact, the most important fact connected with this whole question.

Our market, Mr. Chairman, is the cream of the earth. You can't enrich cream by adding skim milk to it!

THE FARMER'S INTEREST IN PROTECTION.

Protection is a system. It is intended to be helpful to all industries in all sections of the country.

But of all classes of our people those who have the most permanent interest in protection are the farmers. They secure benefit both directly and indirectly. The direct benefit comes from the immediate protection of their individual products.

In 1846 England removed the direct protection to her agricultural interests. Let us see the result. In 1851 the number of persons engaged in agriculture in England and Wales was 1,676,900. Fifty years later, in 1901, the number of persons so engaged was 981,633. These are the official census figures. Thus we see that the number of persons engaged in agriculture under "free trade" has fallen almost 50 per cent. in those fifty years. By way of contrast, look at Germany. Before the adoption of her protective tariff the farmers of Germany had to look abroad for a market for their wheat and many other food products. In 1875 Germany shipped to Great Britain 11,000,000 bushels of wheat. To-day she is using her entire wheat product at home.

Under the Wilson Act the tariff on barley coming into the United States was materially reduced, and our farmers will recall that during those years the price of barley under Canadian competition was ruinously low. Under the Dingley Act barley has had adequate protection, and the prices under the Dingley Act have been much higher than under the Wilson Act.

But the indirect benefit to the farmer is by far the most important. Under a system of adequate protection our industries are diversified. Opportunity is afforded for the development of all our resources of material and all the various talents of our people. The more these industries are diversified the fewer the competitors of the farmer and the more the consumers of his products. The nearer the factory is to the farm the greater becomes the diversity of the farm product, because there is thus provided a market for products which are perishable in their nature and can not be shipped long distances.

The nearer the factory is to the farm, the higher the price of farm products and the lower the price of the things the farmer has to buy. The more we increase our manufacturing industries and the greater becomes the number of persons engaged therein the greater becomes the market for the farmer's products.

And remembering that the amount of our arable land is limited, the tendency under our protective tariff is to furnish at home a more and more complete market for all that the farmer produces, so that the amount that has to be shipped abroad will be growing less and less and his home market will be more and more valuable and secure.

In the language of Benjamin Franklin, the patriot and philosopher—

"Every manufacture encouraged in our own country makes a home market and saves so much money to the country that must otherwise be exported. In England

it is well known that whenever a manufactory is established which employs a number of hands it raises the value of the land in the neighboring country all around it, partly by the greater demand near at hand for the products of the land, and partly by the increase of money drawn by the manufactures to that place. It seems, therefore, to the interest of all our farmers and owners of land to encourage home manufactures in preference to foreign ones imported from different countries."

Quoting again from that great speech of Senator Jones, which every intelligent American citizen should read and study:

"According as we increase the numbers of our skilled workmen, we do not diminish the number of farmers. As we diminish the number of skilled workmen we increase the number of farmers. When the farmer's occupation is invaded he has no recourse. Not being a skilled mechanic he can not in turn invade some other occupation. All mechanics can become farmers without preparatory training; no farmer can become a mechanic without such training. When we shall possess the utmost diversity and multiplication of industries, therefore, we shall have comparatively fewer farmers and a relatively greater number engaged in skilled industries.

"The trend of population from farming to industrial pursuits will then have a tendency to make *manufactured articles relatively cheaper and farm products relatively dearer*. The farmer, therefore, has everything to gain by a policy which induces the people of this country to do all their own work.

"Instead of precipitating increased numbers into farming by lowering the tariff and reducing the numbers employed in the workshops, if we can succeed by a high tariff in widening our industrial development and rendering it unnecessary for our skilled workmen to have recourse to the land, our natural increase of population will in a few years *enable our factories to consume all the products of our farms*.

* * * * *

"Had the protective policy been adopted a quarter of a century sooner than it was the entire country would now be dotted with manufacturing centers, not merely cities separated by long distances, but busy towns and villages a few miles apart, in which the farmers of the neighborhood would find ready and remunerative markets. In other words, in a properly adjusted system of industries the farms would feed the factories and the factories would consume all the products of the farms.

"There would then be no overproduction of farm products for export; the "home" market (in the strict sense of the term) would consume all that would be produced, and the farmers would have the benefits and profits coming from direct sales to consumers, without the intervention of brokers, commission merchants, railroad magnates, and the army of middlemen who now appropriate what under a better system would be the farmer's profits. The delay in the adoption of a distinctly protective policy postponed till the coming generation that fullness of development and that variety of industry which, if a strong tariff be maintained, we shall at no distant day secure.

"Any reduction of the tariff, therefore, which throws factory operatives out of employment must result in throwing men out of employment on railroads, steamships, and in city stores and offices. The products of factory labor, being no longer transported, will require no merchants to "place" them, no salesmen to induce customers in city stores to buy them, no bookkeepers or clerks to keep account of them; nor, indeed, will the city store itself be required in which to expose them for sale. Thus the politician who formulates a tariff bill which results in closing up a factory in the remotest corner of the Union or reduces the reasonable profit of its business is but touching the electric button that rings the alarm in every avenue of labor throughout the land and loudest of all in the open highway, where every farmer may hear."



No. 16

"COMPARISON OF ESTIMATED EXPENDITURES WITH APPROPRIATIONS AND ACTUAL EXPENDITURES."

REMARKS OF SENATOR NELSON W. ALDRICH OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE SENATE, APRIL 28, 1904

Mr. ALDRICH. Mr. President, the Senator from Maryland [Mr. GORMAN] bases his charge of extravagance against the Administration and Congress upon the statement of the gross appropriations which has just been made by the Senator from Iowa, the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations [Mr. ALLISON]. That statement is the usual statement which is presented year after year from the Committee on Appropriations of the two Houses, and is of considerable value for purpose of comparison, and only for this purpose.

It includes appropriations for the sinking fund, for redemption of note circulation, for interest, large sums which are duplicated, and a large number of others for which the money is never expended. The Senator has referred to a few of these items, but there is a large number of others.

It is the duty of the Committee on Finance to consider questions affecting the revenue, and incidentally of expenditures, and that committee has had from time to time tables carefully prepared showing the annual expenditures.

I hold in my hand a table prepared for the committee, which I will have printed in the Record, because I think it should be brought to the attention of the Senate.

The table referred to is as follows:

Comparison of Estimated Expenditures with Appropriations and Apparent and Actual Expenditures.

[Prepared under the direction of the Senate Finance Committee.]

Fiscal year ending June 30—	Estimates by Treasury 1 year in advance.	Estimates by Treasury 1 year in advance.	Gross appropriations.	Appropriations, less sinking fund and postal revenues.	Apparent expenditures.	Actual expenditures.
1886.....	\$275,930,553	\$245,000,000	\$336,439,913	\$247,940,448	\$242,483,138	\$221,158,092
1887.....	292,430,552	266,000,000	357,330,971	260,500,114	267,082,180	244,352,337
1888.....	283,770,161	270,000,000	356,011,523	262,583,797	260,653,658	239,385,109
1889.....	273,686,635	273,000,000	408,624,057	313,382,273	291,906,615	262,418,172
1890.....	275,437,488	295,292,867	395,522,867	294,792,431	297,726,437	277,923,773
1891.....	292,327,404	354,000,000	600,393,945	394,430,448	385,372,685	329,712,020
1892.....	351,652,200	393,000,000	514,424,019	405,013,205	385,023,331	322,025,924
1893.....	360,077,330	361,000,000	463,664,385	404,073,708	383,477,954	363,326,507
1894.....	373,012,216	373,000,000	479,092,667	381,078,708	367,525,270	327,923,719
1895.....	357,007,204	360,000,000	450,925,178	351,805,694	356,195,228	333,781,430
1896.....	357,033,298	362,000,000	457,038,344	339,255,787	352,179,146	336,839,221
1897.....	363,066,238	362,000,000	461,004,010	336,576,456	331,771,160	350,225,005
1898.....	369,430,636	373,000,000	485,002,024	336,576,456	344,398,433	422,614,230
1899.....	405,240,773	367,000,000	569,231,615	747,210,231	605,072,180	564,181,472
1900.....	538,323,410	500,000,000	667,081,022	619,628,443	487,713,792	461,391,589
1901.....	576,674,800	500,000,000	6710,150,862	545,519,630	509,967,552	479,447,539
1902.....	660,111,455	472,000,000	6730,393,575	559,705,538	471,100,457	499,505,661
1903.....	556,827,038	516,000,000	800,624,496	612,400,053		
1904.....	531,634,122	516,000,000	755,053,506	552,290,862		
1905.....	566,002,145	516,000,000	781,574,629	565,602,569		

^a The discrepancy between the estimates and expenditures in the years 1898 and 1899 is because of extraordinary expenditures on account of the war with Spain.

^b For the year 1900, \$51,000,000 (estimated) is included to meet the requirements of the sinking fund; for 1900, \$33,000,000; for 1901, \$53,000,000; and for 1902, \$34,000,000. For the years prior to 1899 only the amounts actually expended on account of the sinking fund are included.

NOTE—The figures in the above table, except the column of gross appropriations, do not include the amounts estimated for and applied to the sinking fund, nor do they include that part of the postal expenditures which are covered by postal revenues.

Mr. ALDRICH. This statement is the official statement prepared by the chief of the warrant division of the Treasury Department—a gentleman known to every member of the Senate. It shows how misleading, for the purposes which we now have under consideration, is any statement of gross appropriations, if we wish to ascertain accurately the expenditures of the Government. Take the year 1902, for instance, when the gross appropriations amounted to \$730,338,575, the actual expenditures were only \$439,505,661, or a difference between the two of \$290,000,000.

This discrepancy, to a greater or less extent, follows through all these years and shows, if we are to consider the question of **relative expenditures**, that a statement of relative appropriations has no value.

It has value, of course, as I have stated, in considering the relative appropriations from year to year. The Senator from Iowa has clearly explained why the gross appropriations for this year are larger than they were last year. It is safe to assume, however, based upon the experience of the last thirty years, that the expenditures of the Government will not approximate even the amount appropriated, and that these differences or discrepancies will necessarily continue for the present year, as they have in the past.

The Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER] suggests that I read more of these figures. For the year 1901 the gross appropriations were \$710,000,000, while the actual expenditures were \$479,000,000. In 1899 the gross appropriations were \$899,231,615, while the actual expenditures were \$584,181,472, or a difference between the gross appropriations and actual expenditures of over \$400,000,000.

I have thought it important that these figures should be brought to the attention of the Senate, in view of the statements made by the Senator from Maryland [Mr. GORMAN] and the Senator from Texas [Mr. CULBERSON]. I am not certain where the Senator from Texas secured his figures, but I do know that they are not even approximately correct, as to the actual expenditures of the Government in the years he has named.

For instance, he contrasts the relative expenditures under Cleveland's Administration and under McKinley's. Under the first year of Cleveland's Administration the actual expenditures of the Government were \$349,928,719, while in the first year of McKinley's Administration the actual expenditures of the Government were \$350,235,905, or a difference of only about \$2,000,000 between the first year of the Administration of Mr. Cleveland and the first year of McKinley's Administration.

Mr. GORMAN. Mr. President, will the Senator permit me to interrupt him for just one question?

Mr. ALDRICH. Certainly.

Mr. GORMAN. The Senator is now drawing a distinction between the appropriations and the expenditures, which is a fair criticism. I ask the Senator now, as he is a chairman of the Committee on Finance, how he accounts for the fact that during McKinley's first term, in 1898—the fiscal year 1898-99—when the war with Spain was in progress, the actual expenditures—not appropriations—were \$443,000,000, while now, in 1903, in a time of peace, with no war, the expenditures have been \$506,000,000? This is a comparison between McKinley's Administration and the present Administration. I should like to have the Senator give us some explanation why in time of peace the expenditures are nearly \$100,000,000 over what they were in a time of war.

Mr. ALDRICH. That is a different question, of course, from the one I was discussing.

Mr. GORMAN. It is a fair comparison.

Mr. ALDRICH. I am coming to that question. It is undoubtedly true that the

expenditures for this current fiscal year, as well as the expenditures for the last year and the year preceding that, have been considerably larger than they were for the years immediately preceding the Spanish-American war. One reason is that we are a larger country; that the expenditures in every department of the Government are necessarily much larger than they were then. The principal reason, however, is found in an increase in the expenditures for the Army and Navy. I am quite willing to concede that.

Has any Senator upon the other side suggested that we were proceeding too rapidly in building up the American Navy? I think the Senator from Maryland mildly expressed a criticism at a previous time in this session, but I understood him to revise his opinion later in regard to that subject.

MR. GORMAN. No, Mr. President; I have not revised my opinion about it at all. I have said that I wanted a navy that was sufficient for all the requirements of this Government, but that we were proceeding too rapidly and were expending too much money on it. That is what I said.

MR. ALDRICH. The Senator has been a member of this body and has had as much to do with its appropriations for naval purposes as any Senator, except perhaps the senior Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE]; he has been a member of the Appropriations Committee; he has been familiar with all these subjects, and I have never, up to a very recent date, heard him express any adverse criticism as to the policy of developing and maintaining the American Navy.

I think the expenditures in this direction commend themselves to the judgment of the American people without regard to party. It is undoubtedly true that our expenditures for the Army and Navy are greater than they were in the years which I have mentioned, the actual increase in expenditures being in the neighborhood of \$100,000,000, in round numbers. I think the Senator stated it at a little less—about \$60,000,000.

I am quite willing to admit that the current expenditures of the Government now are a hundred million dollars more per annum than they were in the years preceding the Spanish-American war. As I have said, the country is a much greater country now than it was prior to the Spanish-American war. In every avenue, in every industry, in our population, and in every other respect, we have grown and developed beyond parallel. I think the American people expect that our expenditures will keep pace with our growth, prosperity, and development, and that we shall not adopt any parsimonious policy. I am glad to say that the Senators upon the other side have not suggested at any time any way in which we could reduce our expenditures.

MR. CULBERSON. Mr. President—

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Rhode Island yield to the Senator from Texas?

MR. ALDRICH. Certainly.

MR. CULBERSON. The Senator from Rhode Island has challenged the accuracy of the tabulated statement which I made. I desire, therefore, to call his attention for a moment, if he will permit an interruption—

MR. ALDRICH. Yes.

MR. CULBERSON. To state whence I got those figures. I have stated once or twice already that they were taken from the reports of the Secretary of the Treasury. As an illustration of that, I have before me the report of the Secretary of the Treasury for 1903, and the Senator may find the total expenditures, as given by the Secretary, on page 2 of that report.

MR. ALDRICH. What year was that?

MR. CULBERSON. The year 1903, the figures being exactly as they appear in the statement which I made.

Mr. ALDRICH. What is the amount?

Mr. CULBERSON. Six hundred and forty million three hundred and twenty-three thousand, the exact figures, Mr. President, that the Senator from Rhode Island presented a moment ago in the statement made by the Secretary of Commerce and Labor.

Mr. ALDRICH. I have not stated anything from the Department of Commerce and Labor.

Mr. CULBERSON. The Senator from Rhode Island presented a statement from that Department.

Mr. ALDRICH. I beg the Senator's pardon; I said the figures which I gave here were the figures prepared and reported by the chief of the warrant division of the Treasury Department.

Mr. CULBERSON. I am alluding to the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON.] If I said the Senator from Rhode Island, I beg pardon.

Mr. ALDRICH. The Senator from Iowa will take care of himself. The figures which the Senator from Texas has just read include the sinking fund and postal revenue, expenditures for which, of course, are manifestly improper to be included.

Mr. CULBERSON. They include the total expenditures of the Government; and the same rule, Mr. President, applies, of course, to the Administrations of Mr. Cleveland, Mr. McKinley and Mr. Roosevelt.

Mr. ALDRICH. I am speaking now of actual expenditures and not appropriations.

Mr. CULBERSON. The actual expenditures of course, include those for the postal service.

Mr. ALDRICH. The money received from the postal service repays the money which is appropriated. So that it is not an expenditure in the ordinary sense of the word.

Mr. CULBERSON. I simply took the total as prepared by the Secretary of the Treasury and of course it is as fair to one Administration as to another.

Mr. ALDRICH. It is not fair, because the amount of the postal revenues has very greatly increased. It has increased more than \$40,000,000 within the time the Senator has mentioned; and if both sides of the account are not taken, the expenditure would appear to be increased \$40,000,000, when they are not increased at all. So the Senator's statement of that is not fair.

The figures which I have submitted are the official figures of the Treasury Department, and I do not think that anybody can question their accuracy. They show, as I have stated, that there has been no such increase as has been indicated either by the Senator from Texas or the Senator from Maryland.

Mr. CULBERSON. I call the Senator's attention to the further fact, Mr. President, that in the summing up and in the comparison which I made of these three Administrations of the Government, I expressly excluded the expenditures for the postal service, showing that, excluding the expenses of the postal service, there was an increase in the military establishment of \$515,000,000 under President Roosevelt, as compared with the last Administration of President Cleveland.

Mr. ALDRICH. Does not the Senator know—I am sure he does, and I have no doubt as a fair man he will be willing to concede—that the expenditures for what he calls the military establishment—and I do not mean to include pensions, of course—were greatly augmented by the Spanish-American war, and that we have never yet resumed, so far as the Army is concerned, a regular peace footing, which I hope we shall reach after a while. There are certain additional expenditures now entailed upon the Government in that connection which are inevitable. I think the Senator ought to be willing to concede that.

The Senator from Maryland [Mr. GORMAN] not only finds fault with us for

being extravagant, but he is alarmed because we propose to adjourn this Congress in what he calls great haste, at an unusual time, and under unusual circumstances. We are adjourning this Congress because the public business has been completed. It is a subject of congratulation to this Congress and to the country, instead of a subject for which we ought to be condemned, that we have accomplished this result and that Congress on this 28th day of April has completed its business and is ready to adjourn.

I should like to have the Senator from Maryland or any Senator upon the other side point out to us any subject or legislation of general interest and importance that we have not taken up and considered, except the tariff question, which we did not intend to take up at this session, a failure for which we assume the full responsibility, and except nebulous suggestions, which have been made constantly upon the other side, that there is something somewhere in the vast area of public business that ought to be investigated by a Democratic committee. Aside from these, can any Senator point me in a concrete way to any subject of legislation that we have not considered and acted upon that he thinks the public interest requires us to act upon?

Mr. GORMAN. I ask the Senator why it is, when your appropriations must exceed and do exceed the revenues of the Government, you have not taken up that question and adjusted it?

Mr. ALDRICH. What does the Senator say?

Mr. GORMAN. I say that the statements made by the chairman of the committee and by others here and elsewhere show that your appropriations for Government expenditures exceed the receipts of the Government.

Mr. ALDRICH. Who says that?

Mr. GORMAN. I say it—that the gross amount appropriated in these appropriation bills, including the amount which was appropriated for the Panama Canal, exceeds the revenues.

Mr. ALDRICH. The gross amount of appropriations?

Mr. GORMAN. Yes; the gross amount of the appropriations.

Mr. ALDRICH. There has not been a year in the Senator's recollection or mine when the gross amount of appropriations has not far exceeded the revenue, and there never will be so long as we continue under the present system of making appropriations.

Mr. GORMAN. That is a subject with which Congress has not dealt.

Mr. ALDRICH. It is not a subject before Congress at all. That is a subject of bookkeeping.

Mr. GORMAN. Mr. President, I did not expect the Senator's party to attempt tariff legislation at this time—on the eve of an election.

Mr. ALDRICH. We do not intend to.

Mr. GALLINGER. It is not necessary.

Mr. GORMAN. We attempted it on one occasion, and we know the result. But you are avoiding it simply because of the election, and for no other reason. It is wise politically. But nevertheless the responsibility rests with you. Why not admit it?

Mr. ALDRICH. I thought I did.

Mr. GORMAN. And for that reason?

Mr. ALDRICH. I was under the impression that I had admitted it.

Mr. GORMAN. And for that reason—that it would disturb the political atmosphere.

Mr. ALDRICH. No; not for that reason.

Mr. GORMAN. And for no other reason.

Mr. ALDRICH. For the reason that it would disturb the business atmosphere in the country unnecessarily, cruelly, and wantonly.

Mr. GORMAN. Any radical attempt to change conditions affecting commerce and trade would disturb the business interests of the country; but the Senator from Rhode Island knows as well as I do that there is no more probability or possibility of taking radical action which would disturb the trade and commerce of the country than there is of his going to Japan to-morrow to rule there as he rules here.

Mr. ALDRICH. Certainly not so long as the Republican party is in power.

Mr. GORMAN. No, Mr. President; the Republican party will be in power in this Chamber for four years after the 4th of March, and I suppose when that fortunate condition for the country will occur, when the Democratic party shall take possession of every other branch of the Government—

Mr. ALDRICH. Unfortunate!

Mr. GORMAN. It will be fortunate. It would be most fortunate now if the Democrats had such power and could stay the radical and extreme measures which you have inaugurated.

It will require probably a division of parties to bring us back to economy in expenditures and honesty in administration, and when we get that power the books of the Departments will be opened. It is true in the meantime, with the statute of limitations, the guilty may escape, but the time is coming, in the next House, when we will have the opportunity, not as a favor, but as a right, to look at the accounts and to examine the books.

Mr. ALDRICH. I wish to ask the Senator a question, and I hope he will answer me frankly.

Mr. GORMAN. I always do.

Mr. ALDRICH. Does he think he, any better than I, can foretell or could foretell what the Democratic party would do upon the tariff question if they were returned to power?

Mr. GORMAN. Yes.

Mr. ALDRICH. What?

Mr. GORMAN. It would do precisely as that party has done from the foundation of the Government to the present time.

Mr. ALDRICH. As it did in 1894, for instance?

Mr. GORMAN. Ah, in 1894! The Senator from Rhode Island understands perfectly that the legislation of the Democratic party in 1894, but for the most extraordinary decision of the Supreme Court, which may yet come to plague and trouble and embarrass the Government, would have provided sufficient revenue for all purposes. The action of the Democratic party in 1894 started the wheels of industry. The people only found the full fruition of that tariff after the election of McKinley.

The Democratic party would do precisely as it has done on every occasion, take care of the business interests of the country; and the manufacturers and laborers of the country would find within a revenue tariff all the protection they want, and we would prevent the unfair advantages to special interests which have grown up under your tariff.

Mr. President, I wish to say this: In my judgment, the tariff on all these matters about which we have been talking will not have serious effect in the discussion and determination of the result in November next. The great question will be whether we shall restrain that branch of the Government which has assumed a power never intended to be granted to it.

Mr. ALDRICH. The Senator from Maryland is getting a little off, I think.

Mr. GORMAN. No; I am not getting off. The Senator from Rhode Island would like to run to some byway—

Mr. ALDRICH. Not a bit of it.

Mr. GORMAN. And escape the indictment which has been made against his party and his President. But the main question that will be considered is the one I have stated. We know, and the country knows, that the others are minor, and the country knows that the tendency of all the legislation you have enacted at this session has been to increase executive power. You have seven to eight million people in the islands of the Pacific. What a spectacle it is! The President of the United States, with the Army, under your legislation and under your submission, is practically an emperor over all those people.

Mr. ALDRICH. I hope the Senator will not go too far into outside questions, because I have only a few minutes.

Mr. GORMAN. I thought the Senator had finished.

Mr. ALDRICH. No.

Mr. GORMAN. Otherwise I would not have interrupted him. I will be very glad to hear the Senator from Rhode Island. He talks very much better than I do.

Mr. ALDRICH. I do not intend to embarrass the Senator from Maryland by reading Mr. Cleveland's letters and messages in regard to the tariff legislation of 1894.

Mr. GORMAN. I would be glad if the Senator would.

Mr. ALDRICH. I am aware that a Democratic House of Representatives passed a tariff bill in 1894 which, if it had passed this body, would have stopped every wheel in the United States; and the Senator from Maryland knows it as well as I do, and he did not then hesitate to say so. It was due to his courage and his action here that entire and absolute destruction of industries was averted. Now, if he thinks that that experience is to be repeated if we have a Democratic Administration, is he in favor of a change? Does he desire to go back to the legislation of Mr. Wilson and Mr. Cleveland and abandon to destruction the entire industries of the United States? I give him credit for too much sense for that.

The act of 1894, modified as it was, brought depression and disaster to the country from which it has not recovered, and I suggest to him that the people of this country will not try another experiment of that kind, and the fact that he is in the Senate to-day with his courage and his views upon the tariff question is not and would not be held by the country a sufficient guaranty against the general un wisdom and folly of the Democratic party.

I was asking the Senator from Maryland and Senators on the other side to point out some measure of general interest that they were for which had not been taken up and considered and acted upon. The Senator from Maryland failed to respond. I expected he would. He falls back upon talk about the usurpation of power on the part of the President of the United States.

I have been a member of this body for twenty-four years, a large part of the time with the Senator from Maryland; I have served with five or six different Presidents, including a Democratic President for two terms, and I have never known a President of the United States, not excepting Mr. Cleveland, who has interfered less with the legislative business of the Congress or with the action of the House or the Senate than the present incumbent of that office. I know of no case where he has undertaken to dictate what our policy or what our legislation should be, and I can not say that of another President within my recollection. This talk about the usurpations of the President and his attempts to control legislation or the Congress is nonsense, and nobody knows it better than does the Senator from Maryland.

BRIEF TARIFF HISTORY

BY

Hon. James T. McCleary

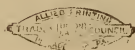
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BRIEF TARIFF HISTORY

OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. Chairman, history is said to be the eye of prophecy. We have good authority for believing that "the best way to judge the future is by the past." Let us, therefore, now take a brief look at our experience with the tariff in the United States.

IN COLONIAL DAYS.

While this country was subject to great Britain all the laws governing trade were made by the British Parliament. They were made for the benefit of Great Britain, it being the generally accepted policy at that time that colonies were established for the benefit of the home country. Not only was there no encouragement given to the establishment of manufacturing industries in the United States; as a matter of fact, such industries were positively and specifically discouraged. Indeed, this was one of the most powerful causes of the Revolutionary War.

UNDER THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION.

From 1776 until 1789 this country lived under a form of union called the Articles of Confederation. Under this plan of union the several States reserved unto themselves the regulation of their own commerce. It was natural, in view of what they had suffered from the regulation of their commerce by a power outside of and superior to themselves, that each State should desire and determine to keep the regulation of its own commerce in its own hands. The extent of their suffering from the old regime may be judged from the fact that the people of the several States were not willing to trust the regulation of their commerce even to a national government of their own making and composed of people of their own selection.

So the Government of the United States under the Articles of Confederation had no power to regulate commerce, either among the States or with foreign nations. And consequently it could do nothing whatever to protect and develop American industries. This period has been well named by Historian John Fiske "The critical period of American history." In his book with that title Professor

Fiske shows that the commerce and industries of the several States were almost annihilated. This was one of the chief reasons for abandoning the old form of union and adopting the Constitution under which we have lived since 1789.

UNDER THE CONSTITUTION.

In that Constitution the very first power granted to Congress was the power to "lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and *provide for the common defense and general welfare* of the United States." Another and related power of Congress, granted for the very purpose of enabling it to "provide for the general welfare," is the power to regulate commerce among the several States and with foreign nations.

THE FIRST ACT OF CONGRESS.

It is very significant that the very first act of the very first Congress, aside from the act providing for the organization of Congress itself, was one with the following preamble:

"Whereas it is necessary for the support of the Government, for the discharge of the debt of the United States, and *for the encouragement and protection of manufactures*, that duties be laid on goods, wares, and merchandise imported: Be it enacted, etc."

This bill was introduced by James Madison, afterwards President of the United States, who is known in history as "the father of the Constitution." The debate was participated in by James Madison, Richard Henry Lee, Charles Carroll, Rufus King, Oliver Ellsworth, Fisher Ames, Roger Sherman, and Jonathan Trumbull, all of whom had been members of the convention which framed the Constitution. The act was signed on July 4, 1789, by George Washington, President of the United States, who had been the president of the Constitutional Convention.

At the time of its enactment this tariff law was spoken of as "our second Declaration of Independence," and such it really was.

As has been well said, "A large majority of that First Congress were farmers, but they saw the necessity of encouraging and protecting manufactures in order that they might be free from servile and dangerous dependence upon foreign nations."

Thus we see that the first general act of the First Congress was a protective tariff act.

HOW IT WORKED.

Remembering the distress and business demoralization under which the entire country had been suffering before the act was passed, let us ascertain the effect of this first act of the fathers under the Constitution. And as witness I put upon the stand the man who is universally recognized as the personification of truthfulness.

ness, George Washington. Referring to the results of six years' operations of this act in his annual message to Congress in 1795, President Washington said:

"Every part of the Union displays indications of rapid and various improvement and with burdens so light as scarcely to be perceived."

THOMAS JEFFERSON ON PROTECTION.

Under this law there was in 1806 a considerable surplus in the Treasury after paying all the public debt then payable, and the problem was what to do under such circumstances. In relation to this matter Thomas Jefferson, then President of the United States, said:

"Shall we suppress the imposts (duties) and give that advantage to foreign over our domestic manufactures. On a few articles of more general and necessary use, the suppression in due season will doubtless be right, but the great mass of the articles on which imposts are laid are foreign luxuries, purchased by those only who are rich enough to afford themselves the use of them. * * *

"The general inquiry now is, Shall we make our own comforts or go without them at the will of a foreign nation? He, therefore, who is now against domestic manufactures, must be for reducing us either to a dependent upon that nation or to be clothed in skins and live like beasts in caves and dens. I am proud to say I am not one of these. Experience has taught me that manufactures are now as necessary to our independence as to our comforts.

"The *prohibiting duties* we lay on all articles of foreign manufacture, which *prudence requires us to establish at home*, with the patriotic determination of every good citizen to *use no foreign article which can be made within ourselves, without regard to difference of price*, secures us against a relapse into foreign dependency."

Please note, Mr. Chairman, that Jefferson, the patron saint of Democracy, not only was a protectionist, but wanted the tariff to be so high as to be "prohibiting." And he continued to favor a protective tariff, for in a letter to his friend Colonel Humphreys, dated January 20, 1809, Jefferson wrote:

"My own idea is that we should encourage home manufactures to the extent of our own consumption of everything of which we raise the raw materials."

THE ACT OF 1812.

The principle embodied in the act of 1789 was indorsed by Presidents George Washington, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and James Madison, and the act remained substantially unchanged until 1812. In that year, owing to the war with England and the necessity for raising additional revenues, the tariff duties were *nearly doubled*, very greatly to the benefit of the industries of the country.

The war of 1812 revealed to us that there were industries necessary to our independence as a nation for the establishment and encouragement of which no provision had been made in the act of 1789. In a special message President Madison earnestly asked that Congress give "deliberate consideration of the means

to preserve and promote the manufactures which have sprung into existence and attained unparalleled maturity throughout the United States during the period of the European wars."

THE ACT OF 1816.

But in 1816 occurred the first of those causeless and wisdomless demands for "a change." Though the country had for several years been enjoying great prosperity, a new tariff act was passed with much lower duties, very many of the schedules being below the point of adequate protection.

The tariff act of 1812 had by its own terms provided that its operation should cease one year after the close of the war with England. But Congress was not satisfied to let the law take its course and expire by limitation.

There seemed to be a popular demand for a reduction in the tariff rates, beyond even those of the act of 1789. (How prone such movements are to go to extremes!) This was advocated by some who honestly claimed to be protectionists. "But," they said, "we are *moderate* protectionists." Up to that time our people had had no opportunity to learn the truth revealed by the experience obtained under the act of 1816 and were not to be blamed for making the mistake that they did. The theory of so-called "moderate protection" had not yet been tested; its folly had not yet been demonstrated.

What was the result?

The Napoleonic wars had just ended. Waterloo had been fought and won. Napoleon himself was a captive at St. Helena. But the Napoleonic wars had greatly interfered with England's commerce. Her warehouses were full of goods.

AMERICA'S FOLLY WAS ENGLAND'S OPPORTUNITY.

The tariff of the United States having been reduced below the point of adequate protection, England, with shrewd business calculation, resolved to kill two birds with one stone—to sell her goods and to destroy her rivals. Many of the goods on hand were somewhat old-fashioned, and therefore could not command any but a low price anywhere. She resolved to flood the United States with them and break down the industries of this country. In 1816 Mr. Brougham (afterwards Lord Brougham) declared in the House of Commons:

"It is well worth while to incur a loss upon the first exportation, in order, by the glut, to stifle in the cradle those infant manufactures which the war (of 1812) has forced into existence."

ITS RESULTS AND THEIR LESSONS.

Speaking of the result, Horace Greeley says, in his History of the Tariff:

"Great Britain poured her fabrics, far below cost, upon our markets in a perfect deluge. Our manufactures went down like grass before the mower, and our agriculture and the wages of labor speedily followed."

Here we have the first illustration in our history of a truth the importance of which should be impressed upon the people of the United States at this time, namely, that *inadequate protection is practically as bad as no protection.*

And here for the first time in our national history another great truth was illustrated, namely, that *even after our industries are established and in good working order there should still be maintained a tariff high enough to protect the country from abnormal conditions abroad.* A dam should be high enough to protect the people in the valley not only in cases of normal flow of the river but also against the destructive freshets that are sure to come periodically. But in 1816 our people had not yet had opportunity to learn from experience this truth in relation to the tariff or to comprehend its tremendous and far-reaching importance.

In 1824, on the recommendation of President Monroe that Congress "give additional protection to those articles which we are prepared to manufacture," another act, aiming to give adequate protection, was passed.

ANDREW JACKSON ON PROTECTION..

Andrew Jackson was then a United States Senator from Tennessee. Speaking in favor of an adequate tariff, he said:

"Providence has filled our mountains and our plains with minerals—with lead, iron, and copper—and given us a climate and soil for the growing of hemp and wool. These being the greatest materials of our national defense, they ought to have extended to them *adequate and fair protection*, that our manufacturers and laborers may be placed in a fair competition with those of Europe and that we may have within our country a supply of those leading and important articles so essential in war. *We have been too long subject to the policy of British merchants. It is time we should become a little more Americanized,* and, instead of feeding the paupers and laborers of England, feed our own, or else in a short time, by continuing our present policy (that of the tariff of 1816), we shall all be rendered paupers ourselves. It is my opinion, therefore, that a careful and judicious tariff is much wanted."

Thus we see, Mr. Chairman, that Andrew Jackson, the other great patron saint of Democracy, believed in a protective tariff, and one that should be "*adequate and fair.*"

THE ACTS OF 1824 AND 1828.

A bill such as was advocated by Monroe and Jackson, one believed to provide adequate protection to American industries, was passed in 1824. It worked well in most cases, but in 1828 it was deemed desirable to pass a supplemental act increasing the rates in certain schedules so that the protection granted by them should be really adequate.

From 1825 to 1829 John Quincy Adams was President of the United States. Speaking of the effect of the tariff act of 1828, he said:

"As yet no symptoms of diminution are perceptible in the receipts of the Treasury. As yet little addition of cost has even been experienced upon the article burdened with heavier duties by the last tariff. *The domestic manufacturer supplies the same or a kindred article at a diminished price*, and the consumer pays the same tribute to the labor of his own countrymen which he must otherwise have paid to foreign industry and toil."

In 1828 Andrew Jackson was elected President of the United States. In his annual message to Congress in 1832, speaking of the results of eight years of a protective tariff, President Jackson said:

"Our country presents on every side marks of prosperity and happiness, unequalled perhaps in any other portion of the world. * * * The report which the Secretary of the Treasury will in due time lay before you will exhibit the national finances in a highly prosperous state."

"FREE COTTON" IN ENGLAND.

In 1832 a step was taken in England which had most important effects in this country. Up to that time England had had a preferential tariff on cotton in favor of her colonies in the East, an arrangement similar to that now being urged by Chamberlain.

Cotton from the United States had been largely excluded from England by reason of the fact that it had been required to pay a duty there, and thus had had to meet at a disadvantage the competition of the cotton from the colonies. England discovered that the cotton that she was securing from her colonies was of too short staple or fibre to be used to the best advantage. She needed the American cotton, which was of longer staple. So to meet the demands of her manufacturers of cotton goods she, in 1832, put American cotton on the free list.

Heretofore the almost entire market for American cotton had been in the New England and other manufacturing States of the North; and therefore, in order to foster the manufactures which furnished the immediate market for their chief product, the people of the South, or a majority of them, had been protectionists.

CALHOUN ON PROTECTION.

In 1816, for example, John C. Calhoun made a strong speech in favor of the protective tariff, saying, among other things:

"When our manufactures are grown to a certain perfection, as they will under the fostering care of the Government, the farmer will find a ready market for his surplus product, and what is of almost equal importance, a certain and cheap supply of all his wants. His prosperity will diffuse itself to every class in the community. It (a protective tariff) is calculated to bind together more closely our widespread Republic, and give greater nerve to the arm of the Government."

Calhoun after 1832 "went with his section" and became a "free trader," but as such he never succeeded in answering his own arguments made as a protectionist.

FREE TRADE BORN IN THE SOUTH.

But for some time prior to 1832 the sentiment in favor of "free trade" had been growing in the South. Slave labor was not adapted to use in factories, so manufactures did not flourish in the South. In the North, with free labor and with adequate protection, manufactures were increasing in number and in product. The high wages paid were attracting a fine class of immigrants from Europe. The Northern States were rapidly growing in population and in power. The South saw political supremacy slipping from its hands. Yet the market for nearly all of its cotton was in the North, and the South did not see its way to break with the protective-tariff system.

But when, in 1832, England removed the tariff on American cotton entering her market, the "free-trade" theorists were able to present to the people of the South two powerful arguments in favor of their doctrine, arguments still echoing there.

In the first place they could appeal to the pocketbook of the South. They said, "You sell your chief product in England and upon it she charges no tariff duties. Why not reciprocate and let her products in free of duty? Moreover, in that way you will be able to buy cheaper than you can buy from the American producer and it is good policy to buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest."

To this argument was added another, which appealed to natural pride and love of power—and to fear of the consequences of loss of power. The argument was this: "The people of the North, through the protective tariff, are growing enormously in wealth and power. At the present rate of growth they will soon completely overshadow the people of the South and politically they will dominate the country—and they may then conclude to interfere with the institution of slavery. By striking down the protective tariff we can close their factories and greatly reduce their rate of growth. Thus and thus only can we hope to retain the political domination of the country. Moreover, closing the factories will destroy the best market of the northern farmer; his food products will then cost us less—we can feed ourselves and our slaves cheaper, and we can thus grow rich faster."

And so in 1832 a mighty wave of "free trade" sentiment swept over the South and expressed itself in a demand upon Congress that the protective system be "utterly and absolutely abandoned."

FREE TRADE AND SECESSION WERE TWINS.

Then and there and thus was born in this country the theory of "tariff for revenue *only*," which is what is generally called "free trade."

In that same year, 1832, South Carolina passed her nullification act against the

collection of duties under the national tariff act. *This was the beginning of the secession movement.* It was then that President Jackson showed the stuff he was made of by his famous declaration: "By the Eternal, the Union must and shall be preserved."

Thus we see that secession and free trade are the twin children of slavery. The former and its barbaric mother were together shot to death by loyal bullets. The latter should be sent to its long sleep by loyal ballots; for secession was no more dangerous to the political existence of the United States than is free trade to its industrial life and progress.

"TRIMMING" IN 1833.

For eight years under a protective tariff the country as a whole had been enjoying exceptional prosperity and was not ready to yield to the demands of the South. But, in dealing with the situation, there was exhibited that weakness which is so little better than wickedness. In 1833 a compromise act was passed under which the tariff was to be gradually reduced 10 per cent. every two years, until it should be practically "for revenue only," though nominally affording "moderate" protection.

And again, by the results, was the truth illustrated that *inadequate protection is as bad as no protection.* The rates of tariff soon got below the line of adequate protection. But "coming events cast their shadows before." Even before the point of inadequate protection had been fully reached business men had become timid. Industry began to decline, and in 1837 came another financial crash, even worse than that which followed the abandonment of protection in 1816.

PROTECTION AGAIN IN 1842.

Through much suffering the people had become thoroughly aroused, and in 1840 William Henry Harrison, a strong protectionist, was elected President. And with him was elected a protectionist Congress. Unfortunately, President Harrison died in about a month after his inauguration, and was succeeded by Vice-President Tyler, of Virginia, who was professedly a protectionist, but, with his southern training and association, not a very sturdy one.

In 1842 another protective tariff bill passed both Houses of Congress. It was vetoed by President Tyler on the ground that the rates were too high, but Congress passed it over his veto. Under the act of 1842 confidence was restored, business revived, and the sun of prosperity again shone forth. While this prosperity was general throughout the country, it was particularly marked in the manufacturing and agricultural States of the North. Again the South felt this remarkable prosperity as a menace to the political ascendancy of that section, and the leaders of the Democratic party in the South resolved to clip the wings of the North by a repeal of the protective tariff.

"THE TWO-FACED" CAMPAIGN OF 1844.

They dared not undertake to do this openly, because the people had so recently experienced the bad effects of inadequate protection that they appreciated the prosperity that they were enjoying under the act of 1842. The only way for the Democrats to win the election in 1844 was to nominate for the Presidency a southern man of not very pronounced or well-known views on the tariff question, but who could be trusted to cooperate with the southern Democratic leaders, and then to nominate for Vice-President some northern man *well known to be a protectionist*, so that the party could stand for "free trade" in the South and for protection in the North. James K. Polk, of Tennessee, was made the nominee for the Presidency, and George M. Dallas, of Pennsylvania, for the Vice-Presidency. In the South the cry was "Polk, Dallas, and free trade!" In the North the cry was "Polk, Dallas, and the tariff of '42!"

Why it was possible.—Newspapers were not so numerous or so generally read then, as now. The electric telegraph had not yet become established. So this "two-faced" campaign was then entirely practicable.

If I were to make a guess, Mr. Chairman, I should say that this year, exactly sixty years later, our Democratic brethren would try to repeat the essential parts of their plan of 1844. Can they make it work *now*?

The nomination of George M. Dallas for Vice-President appealed to the State pride of Pennsylvania, which was then as now a strong protectionist State. Under the impression that Dallas was a protectionist and that therefore the ticket was a "safe" one, the State of Pennsylvania went Democratic and Polk and Dallas were elected.

THE REWARD OF WEAKNESS.

The Whig nominee was Henry Clay. The Whig platform declared for "a tariff for revenue to defray the necessary expenses of the Government, and *discriminating with reference to the protection of the domestic labor of the country.*" The platform was sound and Clay had in fact always been a protectionist. But now he paid the penalty for his lack of courage in 1833. The Democrats circulated in Pennsylvania and other protectionist States the story that Clay was "wobbly" on the tariff. Remembering his vacillating course in 1833, enough people believed the story to defeat him in the cherished ambition of his life. The lesson is plain: In the discharge of responsible public duties courage to do the right is profitable as well as honorable. "Trimming" is neither.

THE ACT OF 1846.

In 1846 a tariff bill was passed reducing many of the rates below the point of adequate protection. In the Senate the vote on the bill was a tie and George M.

Dallas, though elected as a protectionist, performed the shameful part of casting the deciding vote in favor of the "free-trade" bill.

That the bad effect always to be expected in this country from a tariff act such as that of 1846, one not providing adequate protection, did not immediately follow the passage of the act was due to the following remarkable sequence of circumstances:

1. Very soon after the passage of the act the Mexican war broke out, creating for two years an abnormal demand for munitions of war and food supplies for the soldiers, thus stimulating business.

2. Close upon this came the great famine in Ireland, creating a further abnormal demand for our food products.

3. In 1849 came the discovery of gold in California, and shortly after that the discovery of gold in Australia, which discoveries stimulated trade all over the world.

4. The period from 1848 to 1851 was one of violent revolutions in several European countries which interfered with the regular course of production in those countries and created an exceptional demand for our products, especially our agricultural products.

5. Then in 1854 came the great Crimean war, involving Russia on the one side and Turkey, France, and England on the other, and furnishing us for two years another abnormal market for many of our products of farm and factory.

Its results.—But with the close of the Crimean war in 1856 this extraordinary chain of events ended, and then the usual effects of an inadequate tariff promptly manifested themselves. Our prosperity at once began to wane. As if to tempt the fates, the Democrats, in 1857, enacted a law still further reducing the tariff rates. Almost immediately came a tremendous financial crash, probably the worst in our history. There was great business depression through the next four years. Inadequate protection had got in its work and in December, 1860, in his last annual message to Congress, the Democratic President, James Buchanan, gave this picture of the situation in the United States:

"With unsurpassed plenty in all the productions and all the elements of natural wealth, our manufactures have suspended, our public works are retarded, our private enterprises of different kinds are abandoned, and thousands of useful laborers are thrown out of employment and reduced to want. We have possessed all the elements of material wealth in rich abundance, and yet, notwithstanding all these advantages, our country, in its monetary interests, is in a deplorable condition."

The depression continued until the adoption of the Morrill tariff act in February, 1861. In the election of 1858 the Republicans had carried the House, but did not make enough gains in the Senate to control that body. Before the election of 1860 the House had passed the Morrill bill, but it was held up in the Senate. After election it passed the Senate—some loyal Northern Democratic Senators

voting for it, he it said to their credit—and was signed by James Buchanan, who had come to see the necessity for such an act and had shaken off the domination of the South, returning to his original and real position on the tariff.

SOME FRUITS OF PROTECTION.

From 1861 to the present day, save and except the four mournful years from 1893 to 1897, this country has had the policy of adequate protection to American industries. At the close of the period of inadequate protection the nation had a bankrupt Treasury; to-day the Treasury is overflowing. At the close of the period of inadequate protection the Government, which, as usual under that kind of legislation, had been running into debt, had so lost its credit among men that it found itself unable to borrow money in sufficient quantities to meet its needs, though it offered 8, 10, yea 12 per cent for the money; to-day it can borrow all the money that it wants at the rate of 2 per cent, and its bonds issued at that rate stand at a premium in the market places of the world.

Under a protective policy this nation fought the greatest war in the history of the world, a war which left the Southern section of the country prostrate and bankrupt, a war which took from the productive industries of the Northern section of the country more than a million of its sturdiest sons and devoted four years of their time to destruction instead of construction; a war which used up all of the enormous income of the Government for four years, amounting to more than a thousand millions of dollars, and yet left us with a debt of nearly three thousand millions of dollars. Upon that debt we have paid more than eighteen hundred millions of the principal and nearly three thousand millions of dollars of interest. As an expression of our gratitude to those who saved the Union we have paid out in pensions more than three thousand millions of dollars, and are now paying about a hundred and forty million dollars a year.

But, notwithstanding these enormous losses in population and in wealth caused by this war, our population has increased from a little over thirty millions in 1860 to more than eighty millions at the present hour. Our wealth has increased from sixteen billions in 1860 to more than ninety-four billions in 1900, or from an average of \$513 per capita in 1860 to \$1,235 per capita in 1900. That is, our wealth has increased more than twice as fast as our population. Our savings-bank deposits have increased from \$149,277,504 in 1860 to \$2,935,204,875, or from an average of \$4.75 per capita in 1860 to \$36.52 per capita in 1903. That is, our savings-bank deposits (the best index of the condition of workingmen) have increased nearly nine times as fast as our population.

As I said earlier, it is always true under a protective tariff that the wits of men are stimulated because they see some reward for the exercise of their ingenuity. The truth of this proposition can be seen by examining the report of the Commissioner of Patents. Up to and including 1860 the total number of patents issued in the United States was 31,005, or an average of 443 a year. From the

1st of January, 1861, to the 1st of January, 1904, there had been issued 747,502 patents, which is at the rate of 17,385 a year—that is, while our population has been multiplied by less than three the rate of patent issue has been multiplied by forty.

THE LESSONS OF EXPERIENCE.

From the foregoing sketch of our tariff history, brief though it necessarily is, several propositions may be regarded as established by experience:

1. That disaster has always followed the enactment of a tariff which failed to furnish *adequate* protection. Such a tariff has neither furnished protection to our industries nor raised sufficient revenue for the Government. The so-called “moderate” protection has always proved a delusion and a snare. It is less worthy of respect than frank and open “free trade,” for so-called “moderate” protection always “keeps the word of promise to the ear but breaks it to the hope.” Its advocacy by a well-informed man may generally be rated as cowardly evasion.

2. From the disaster resulting from such tariff legislation our country has never in a single instance recovered except through the enactment of a tariff law giving *adequate* protection.

3. With one possible exception, that of 1873, we have never had a panic or widespread business depression under a tariff act giving adequate protection to home industries. Even the collapse of certain speculative enterprises of large capitalization during the last two years has simply gone to show that “protection is panic proof.”

4. The business depression of 1873 was not due to the tariff, but occurred in spite of the tariff. It came from two sources chiefly—first, it was a part of the reaction from over-speculation during and following the civil war; and second, it was part of the “sobering up” in our currency matters, when we were painfully getting back from greenback flatism to the solid basis of the gold standard.

5. But even in the case of 1873 the suffering was mainly among the speculative classes and was not specially felt among the people generally. The country during that period advanced greatly in wealth, and *the recovery came under a protective tariff.*

6. *Never in our history have we had general and long-continued business depression when we have had both of the Republican twin bases of prosperity—a protective tariff and a sound currency.*

WHY I AM A PROTECTIONIST.

Some years ago the publishers of the American Economist called upon a large number of leading Americans for a brief statement of their reasons for being protectionists. Some of the best answers are given below.

[By Hon. THOMAS H. DUDLEY, of New Jersey.]

Because protection promotes the prosperity and welfare of the country by giving employment to labor and developing the resources of the nation. The more general the employment of the people, the larger the production, and the greater the production the cheaper the price of the commodities produced will be to the consumers who use them. Protection or self-preservation is a principle implanted by God upon all animated matter, and it is better, not only for the nation itself, but for the people of the whole world, that such protection should be given to labor in each nation as . . . produce the same results in production in each separate country.

[By Hon. J. P. DOLLIVER, United States Senator from Iowa.]

I believe in the doctrine of protection because the fact of our national experience thoroughly exemplify its truth. No great American statesmen, except the half-forgotten leaders of the slave power, have disowned the protective system. The importers' trust and the slave trust have been alone in their hostility to that system, each for obvious reasons peculiar to itself. If the doctrine of protection is not true, our people have blindly followed a blind leadership. If the policy of protection is not wise, it indicates that the human race, outside of England, has not sense enough to take care of itself. I will not thus disparage the average common sense of our own country, nor thus discredit the average common sense of mankind.

[By DAVID HALL RICE, of Boston.]

Between nations but two systems have ever existed, the free-trade-tariff system and the protective-tariff system.

The fruit of the free-trade-tariff system is, in the words of the British Royal Commission, intermittent and consequently dear production and absence of reliable profits; in the words of General Booth, over 3,000,000 of helpless and starving British workmen, begging for work to earn the bare bread of daily existence; in the words of Cardinal Manning, "the capital that stagnates" and "the starvation wages of the [British] labor market."

The fruit of the protective-tariff system is—by reserving the sure home market to the competition of American producers—continuous and consequently economical and profitable production, giving cheap prices to the ultimate consumer, fair returns on invested capital, and the highest wages in the world to labor. Under it neither capital stagnates nor labor starves, but both do their work together.

That is why I am a protectionist.

[By Hon. B. F. JONES, of Pittsburg.]

I am a protectionist because our country has prospered with protection and languished without it.

Because revenue can more easily, more surely, and with less objection be raised by judicious protective tariff laws than otherwise.

Because protection diversifies employment and largely relieves wage earners from foreign competition, thereby enabling them to be liberal consumers as well as producers.

Because, as has been demonstrated, the effect of protection is the cheapening of products.

Because defense against injurious importations is as necessary and justifiable as is an army and navy.

Because the theory of free trade between nations is as fallacious, impracticable, and utterly absurd as is that of free love between families.

[By Hon. L. R. CASEY, former United States Senator from North Dakota.]

Because protection steadily enlarges the home market for farm products.

England buys the world's surplus wheat. She demands "a big loaf for tuppence." Accordingly, she gluts her markets from every source and usually is able to dictate unprofitable prices for American grain.

When our exportable surplus is large, prices are rarely good; when small, always; so that, strangely, a deficient yield is sometimes good luck for the farmer.

Well-paid wage-earners are generous consumers.

Protection alone insures American labor against European pauper wages.

When, under protection, American industries shall employ bread eaters sufficient to nearly consume American cereals, then the farmer will no longer sell his grain at cost of production or less. He will escape the competition of the ryot and the serf. His industry will be profitable, his calling honored and truly independent.

[By Hon. D. B. HENDERSON, former Speaker United States House of Representatives.]

First. Because the civilized world substantially protects itself, thus forcing us to protect ourselves.

Second. Because all the conditions of men and of women in this country are better than in other countries, and protection is needed to preserve our happier conditions.

Third. Because I want labor to get the best possible wages for its efforts.

Fourth. Because I want agriculture to find a near, sure, and rich market.

Fifth. Because I want to keep the capital and labor of this country all actively employed, each helping the other.

[By EDWIN A. HARTSHORN, of Troy, N. Y.]

Because protection insures the greatest possible good to the greatest possible number.

Because steam and electricity have practically annihilated space, while climatic conditions render living impossible upon the same income in all countries.

Because self-government under a labor system so degraded as to prohibit universal education is an impossibility.

Because protection is the first law of national, as well as individual, preservation, and self-preservation is the first law of nature.

Because cheap labor and free foreign trade were the fundamental principles of the Southern Confederacy, which threatened the destruction of our priceless Government.

[By H. K. THURBER.]

I am a protectionist because thrift follows the enactment of wise laws.

Because I love my own country better than I do foreign countries.

Because protection builds up our towns into cities and enhances the value of our houses and lands.

Because every dollar sent abroad to purchase goods that we can produce at home makes us a dollar the poorer.

Because protection in this country gives labor better wages than free trade.

Because it is better for this country to feed, clothe, and house our own labor in this country than to support foreign labor in other countries with our money.

Because it is true, as Peter Cooper well said: "No goods purchased abroad are cheap that take the place of our own labor and our own raw material."

[By Hon. ELLIS H. ROBERTS, Treasurer of the United States.]

In my judgment the purpose in raising revenue should be first to promote production, from which spring a nation's wealth and power. Consumption will follow.

In home production the whole cost of the commodity is kept here to buy materials and to pay wages.

With agriculture and manufactures developed by stable protection a surplus will be produced to seek external markets by ships made by American mechanics from our native products.

Home markets are best for our own producers, and their development is the condition of a foreign trade large and varied enough to endure and expand.

[By Hon. P. C. CHENEY, ex-governor of New Hampshire.]

I believe in the inherent right of self-preservation, both for man and government. My observation and experience, both in this and foreign countries, assure me that a "free-trade" policy for America inures only to the benefit of those abroad. All foreign nations know this, and hence urge us to adopt it. Our loss would be their gain. Only by protection are we enabled to pay the highest for labor and sell the lowest to the workman.

This condition makes the United States conspicuously prosperous.

Our government should be as exacting from foreigners as from Americans. Make them pay duty while we pay taxes.

America in the Philippines

By Hon. A. W. FERGUSON, Executive Secretary
to Hon. WILLIAM H. TAFT, Ex-Governor of the
Philippines, now Secretary of War.

THE SUBJECT upon which I have been asked to write covers so large a field, has been treated by such able pens, and so many changes have been rung upon it, that it seems scarcely possible to add to its literature, and I shall confine myself, therefore, to what America has really accomplished in the Philippines rather than to consider the theme in its broadest aspect. And in the few pages allotted me I shall limit myself more especially to what the Civil Authorities have done in a quiet and unobtrusive way, since the work of the Army needs no praise here. It has become history. Its work has been performed in the way the American Army has ever done its part—thoroughly and well.

It is not the province of any army to come on a friendly visit to a foreign shore; armies are set in motion when all friendly overtures have failed. Their task is to bring about peace through the arbitrament of the sword, and the hoarse accents of the cannon. America came to the Philippines because the Archipelago was considered a vulnerable point in an erstwhile enemy's territory. She had none but the kindest feelings towards the natives of the Islands, and there might never have been the slightest ruction in the amicable relations at first existing had not her intentions been misconstrued; but in the controversies and uncertainties which followed Dewey's entrance into the Harbor of Manila, extending over a period of several months, misunderstandings arose, heads became heated and reason fled from them on the heels of calmness. So the war followed. But even in war the Filipino learned the difference between modern and fifteenth-century methods of doing things. He learned that an enlightened nation uses its weapons of warfare to enforce a principle, and that neither personal nor national hatred or vindictiveness is the power behind the guns. Perhaps it is not too much to say that even at this early date, the more advanced and enlightened Filipinos saw that even the acquisition of territory was a minor consideration with

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The Famous Malecon Promenade and Speedway, Manila

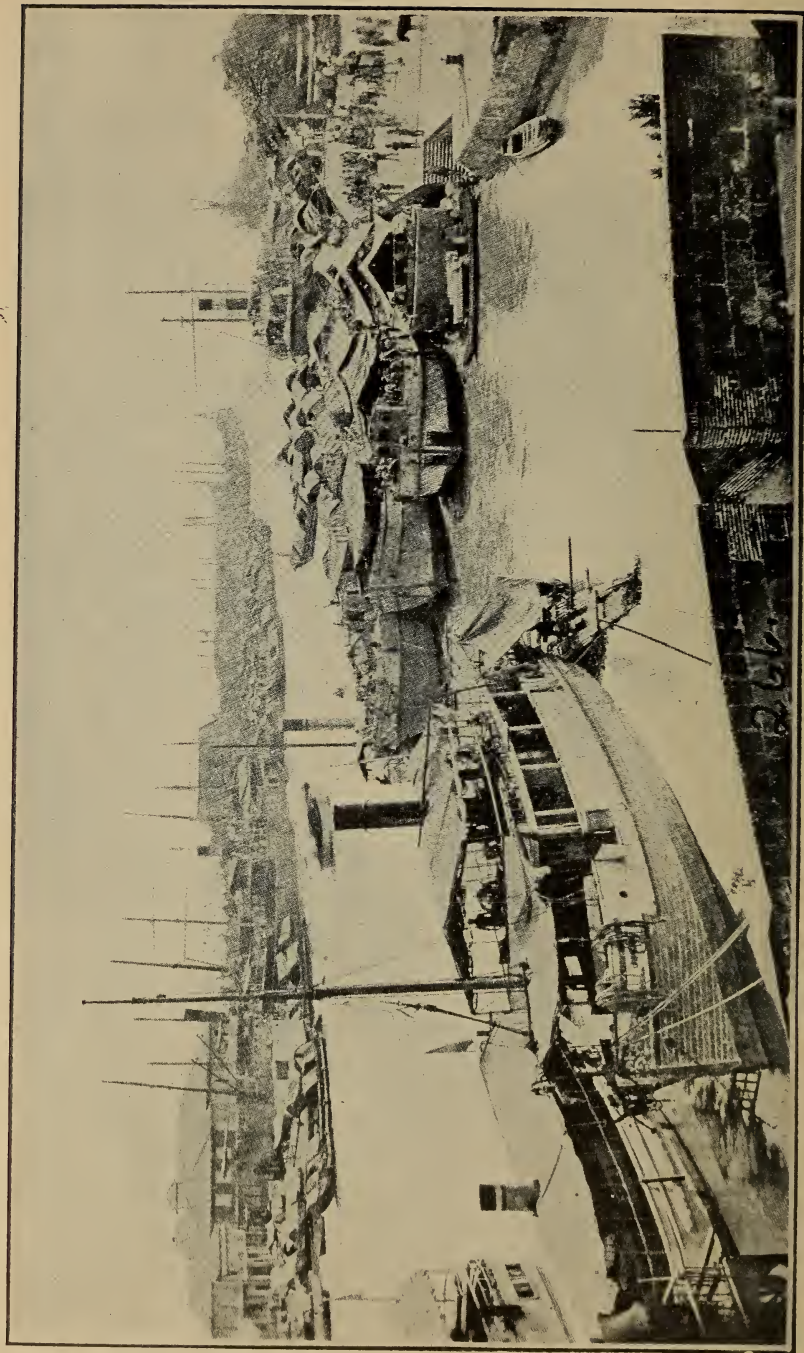
the Republic beyond the seas, and that having acquired sovereignty—through no desire of her own but from an overwhelming force of circumstances—over eight millions people, it became her duty to teach them those ideals and conceptions of liberty that have made America great and that stand for the best that is known of civilization throughout the broad world.

However this may be, the Filipinos, as a people, learned that though assault was met with counter-assault, yet friendly advances were met with advances more friendly still; they saw that though the American soldier used his weapon aggressively to enforce the recognition of his country's duly acquired sovereignty yet he had no desire either to reduce them to an abject state or to impose burdens upon them too heavy to be borne. These were the lessons of the hour; but notwithstanding this it was not to be expected that a people who for four centuries had suffered and groaned under a monarchical and military despotism that has hardly had a parallel in history could be content under a martial government, however humane and considerate; they could not be expected to appreciate the sentiment crystalized in the lines,—

“Underneath the starry flag,
Civilize them with a Krag,”

and so though thousands returned from the field and once more assumed the avocations of peace and made friends of the American officer and soldier in the towns, yet there was encouragement and assistance given to the man in the field and the spirit of rebellion was still rampant in many breasts.

It was at this juncture, two years ago, when the so-called Filipino Army had been scattered in all directions that the patriotic and diplomatic McKinley met the situation with a flank movement that is unprecedented in history. The Islands were in a state of insurrection and he sends to insurrecto leaders and people—not peace messengers, as is customary, who meet for formal talk and lay propositions before a contending body which they may or may not accept, men who are here to-day and gone to-morrow; but he sends into the midst of these people, supposed to be bitter of spirit and evil of intent—five Americans of stalwart brains and kindly hearts to live among them and to say to them:—“We are here to tell you what

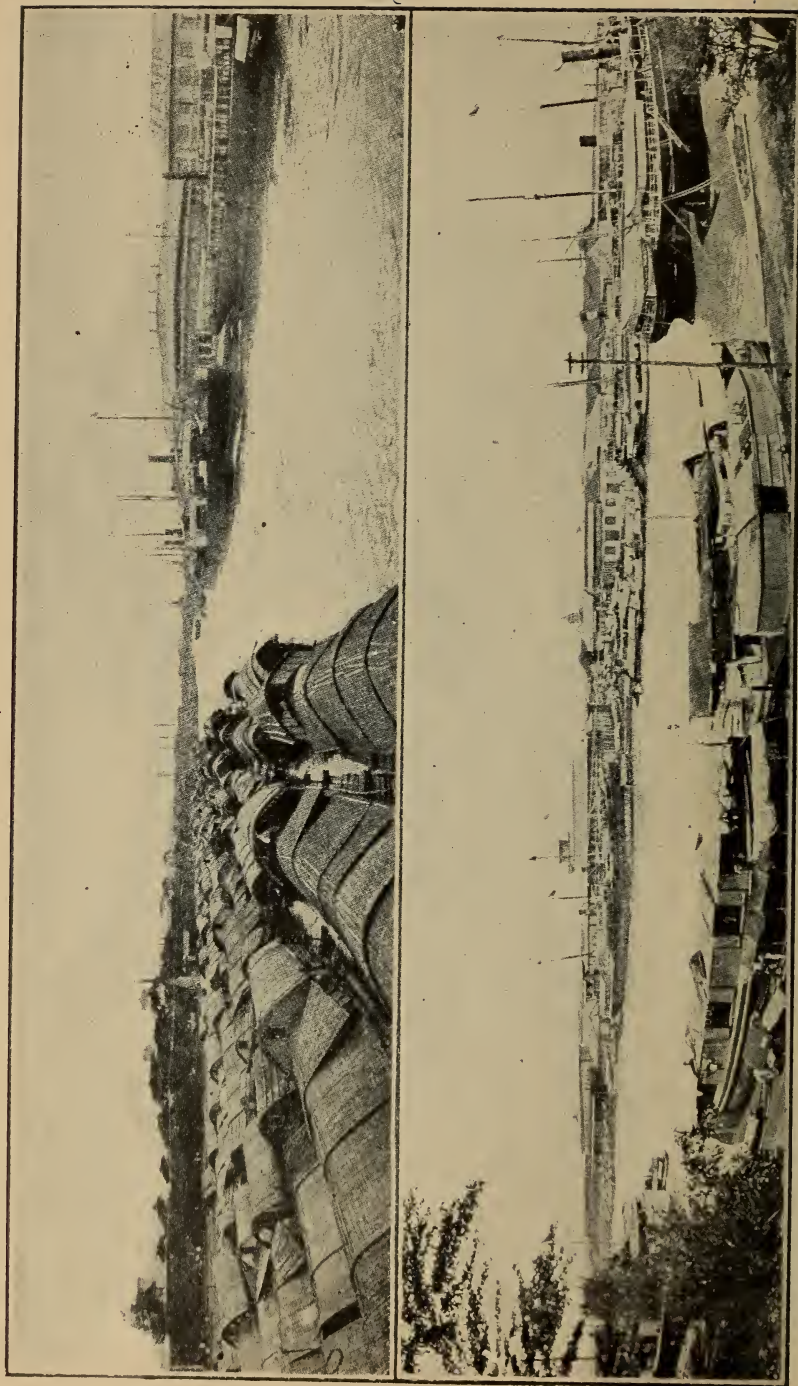


A Typical Shipping Scene, Manila.

peace really means; we are here to show you the blessings of liberty as it is known among enlightened nations; we are here to admit you to brotherhood with the American, to find out how much you really know of what self-government is, and so soon as you shall show yourselves capable of it to bestow that blessing upon you. Your plea that you are capable of self-government has come before our President; your cry for liberty has been heard; your claim that you have been kept in subjection and your capabilities perverted and your best efforts stultified has been given every consideration, and we are here to tell you that America is ready to grant you every privilege and all the liberty as you are ready for it that the greatest of American citizens may have, except that she cannot yield to you the sovereign power. She dares not leave you a prey to your own internal dissensions and she cannot give you over to other nations."

No sooner had the ship that bore the Commission hither anchored in the beautiful bay of Manila, than they were visited by a large body of prominent natives, three at least of whom had been ministers and advisers of Aguinaldo—men who had always favored peace and who had parted with him when he determined to follow the advice of the hot-heads and break with the Americans. These natives were anxious to learn the intentions of the American Government, and when they became possessed of them, and their confidence had been won, they enlisted in the cause of bringing their erring and misguided brothers to their senses.

But a few weeks sufficed to convince the Commission that the encouragement they had been met with at the outset was not built upon sand; day after day they were visited by seekers after the intentions of the Government; by doubters who had been so long fed upon unfulfilled promises that there was no longer any faith in them. But when the time for converting words into deeds arrived; when on the first of September, 1900, the Commission entered upon its legislative functions and it was discovered that its first enactment was an appropriation of \$1,000,000 gold for roads, and its fifth a law establishing a civil service in the Islands, based upon a merit qualification, followed in quick succession by a municipal code providing



At the Mouth of the Pasig River.
River Front, Manila.

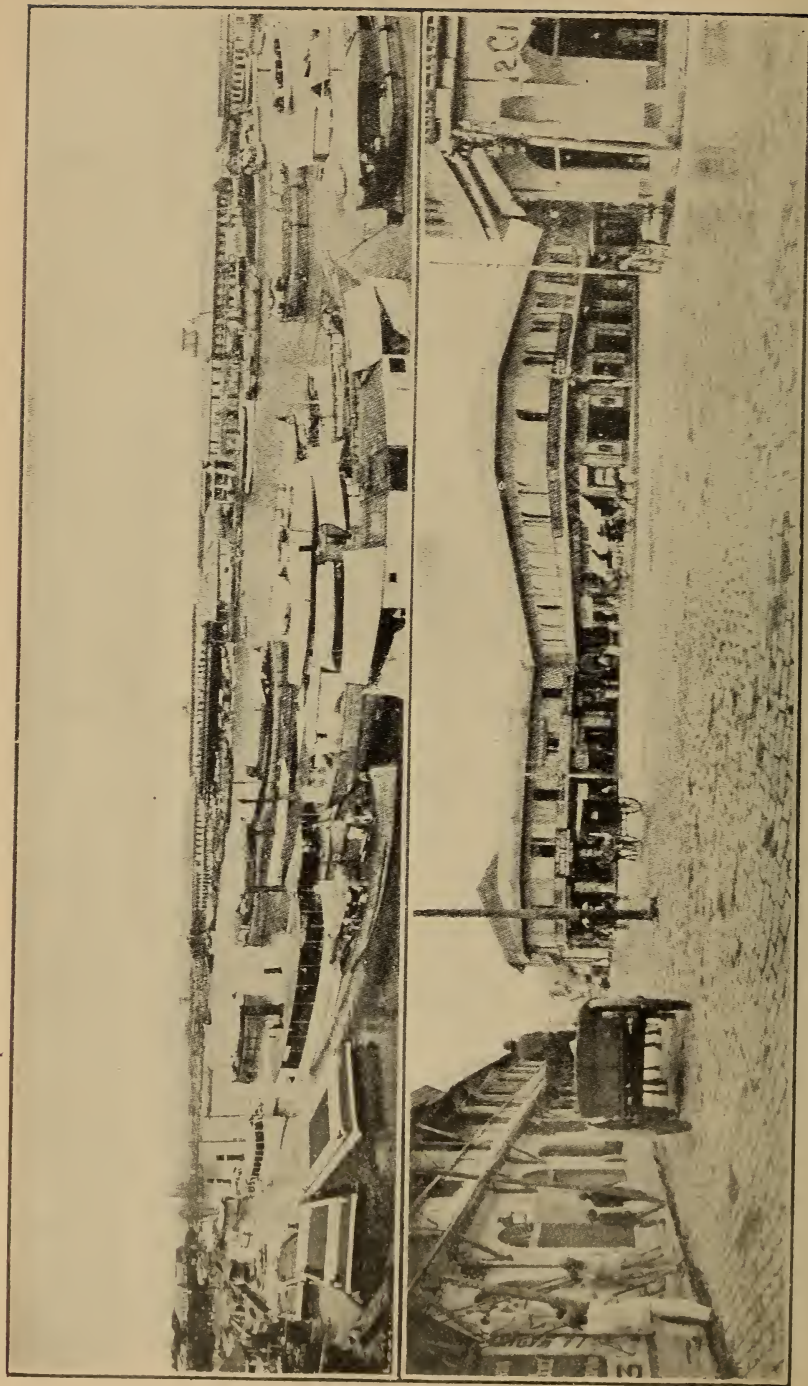
for local self-government, a provincial code, and many other acts drawn on broad, liberal, American lines—all of which were put into execution as soon as the pacified conditions in the provinces would permit and which served as object lessons to the doubters—their conversion came like that of Saul of Tarsus, and like him they preached among their own people the gospel of peace.

Emissaries from unpacified provinces and even from insurgent leaders in the field came to hear the glad tidings firsthand, and some of the latter expressed the willingness of their commanders to surrender to the civil authorities, which, of course, was out of the question, as they could not be negotiated with while offering armed resistance to American sovereignty.

When through the military arm of the Government several of the provinces had become pacified and the Commission visited them for the purpose of establishing civil government, the evidences of rejoicing on the part of the people were far less prefatory when they found that they were called together and consulted as to the best methods to pursue to meet local requirements before the law putting them under civil regime was enacted. This was something new and strange to them. The gentlemen in Congress who have asserted that the natives were muzzled at these meetings and not given free rein in the discussions entertain an impression which has never been borne in upon the writer, who was present at all of them and acted as interpreter.

On the first of September, 1902, there were 40 provinces under civil rule in the archipelago. Of these, 30 (or 75%) had Filipino Governors, and 10 (or 25%) had American Governors. The provincial officials in these provinces were 229 in number, 165 (or 67%) of which were Filipinos, and 82 (or 33%) Americans.

As an evidence of the deep interest shown by the natives in the workings of a new electoral system, it will not be amiss to refer to the case of the gubernatorial election in the Province of Cebú. The Provincial Government Act provides for the holding of an electoral convention on the first Monday of February last (the 3d), and 435 electors (being the vice-presidents and councilors of the 57 organized municipalities in the Prov-



River Front, Manila
Plaza del Padre Moraga, Manila

ince) out of a possible 570 answered the roll call of the convention. On the last ballot for Governor 434 votes were cast, of which the present incumbent, Juan Climaco, received 249 and his predecessor 122 votes, the rest being scattered. The counting of the last ballot was completed at 2 a. m., February 5th, after the convention had been in continuous session from the morning of February 3d, short recesses only being taken; and the outcome of this their first lesson in American methods of conducting elections may be summed up in the concluding words of the official report of the Treasurer and Supervisor of the Province of Cebú, the former an officer of the United States Army and the latter an experienced engineer:

"The election was absolutely fair and impartial and the result is the evident choice of the people as expressed by their electors and seems to give satisfaction to the native population."

The files of the Executive Bureau contain many other reports regarding these elections, all of which demonstrate the fact that ocular proofs of the intentions of the American Government and people to make good citizens out of the natives of the Islands are not barren of results.

It will be seen from what precedes and follows that the civil authorities have "hewn straight to the line" in following the Instructions of the President of the United States when he says:

"That in all cases the municipal officers, who administer the local affairs of the people, are to be selected by the people, and that wherever officers of more extended jurisdiction are to be selected in any way, natives of the Islands are to be preferred, and if they can be found competent and willing to perform the duties, they are to receive the offices in preference to any others."

To the average reader figures are a bore; but they are far more potent than words, and I shall introduce a few to show what the civil authorities have done in the Philippines along some lines in the last twenty-four months, to be set against the sad lists of military casualties which burdened the American heart as they were flashed to the homeland for so long a time.

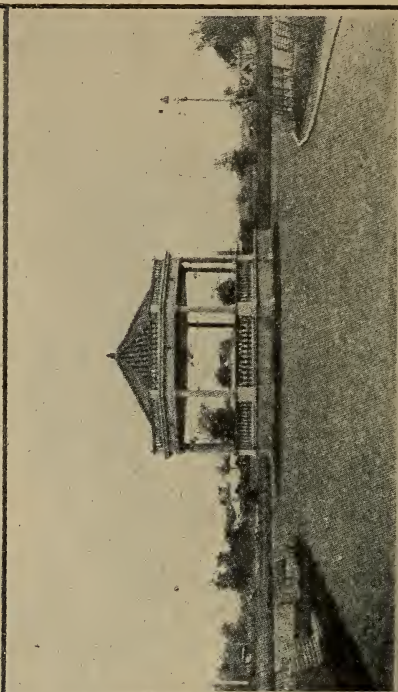
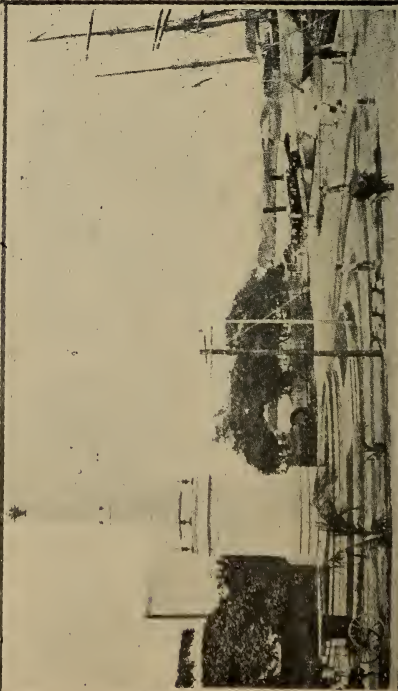
During the period from September 1, 1900, to September 1,



Legaspi Monument and Luneta, Manila
Anda Monument, Manila



Famous Malecon Drive, Manila
Band Stand, Luneta, Manila

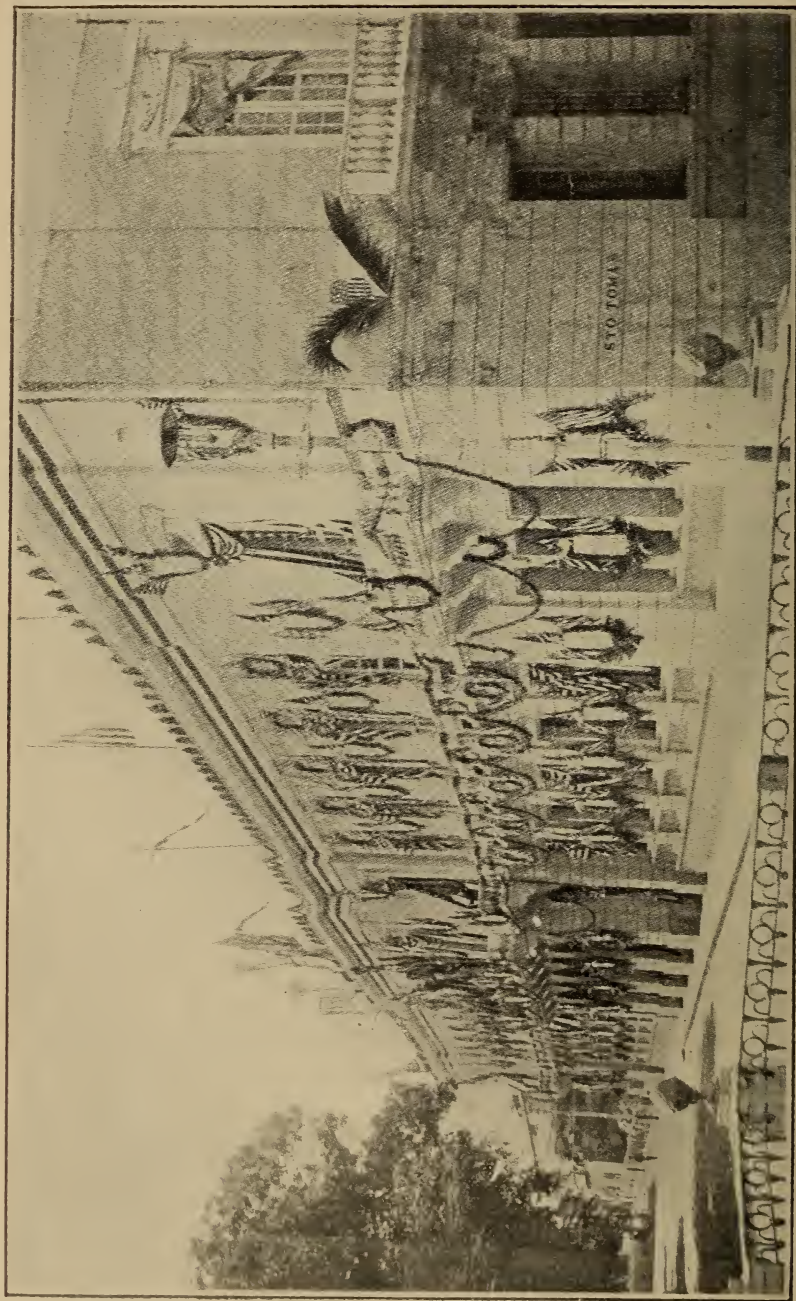


1902, the United States Philippine Commission has held 224 public sessions and 411 executive sessions, the record of the former filling 1460 type-written pages, and of the latter 1174, a total in two years of 635 sessions and 2634 pages. This shows that there were only 85 days in the 730 elapsing between the dates named upon which no session was held; but as a matter of fact, so far as the executive sessions are concerned, when two were held on the same day they have been considered as one in this computation. During the same period 450 laws were enacted by the Commission, or at the rate of over four a week. A record this which speaks for itself.

The civil service of the Islands was composed on June 1, 1902, of 2491 English-speaking employees, and 9986 natives, including 5596 enlisted men in the Philippines Constabulary, and excluding native school teachers receiving compensation from municipalities. The total yearly pay roll of the 13,257 employees is \$5,392,680.

The number of pupils enrolled in the day public schools of the Archipelago this year was 200,000, in the night schools 25,000. The number of secondary schools already established is 8, with a strong probability that as many more will be established during the year. There is now one agricultural school in the Islands. The present number of teachers employed is 4192, of which 792 are teachers of English and 3400 natives. The average daily attendance during the past year is estimated at over 80 per cent., which is higher than in the United States, where it is 66 $\frac{2}{3}$ per cent.

Since the establishment of a central civil government in Manila on July 4, 1901, to which all the provincial governments report, the work that has fallen upon the Civil Governor and the Executive Office can only be imagined by those who are acquainted with the methods prevailing in Spanish times, when paternalism in its most radical form prevailed, and who consider the fact that the system now obtaining is new to every native official. Matters of the most important and trivial nature are submitted to the Executive Office for decision through portentous-looking documents of voluminous proportions and couched in the flowery and pompous Castilian style that has survived the centuries. But it must be said that the



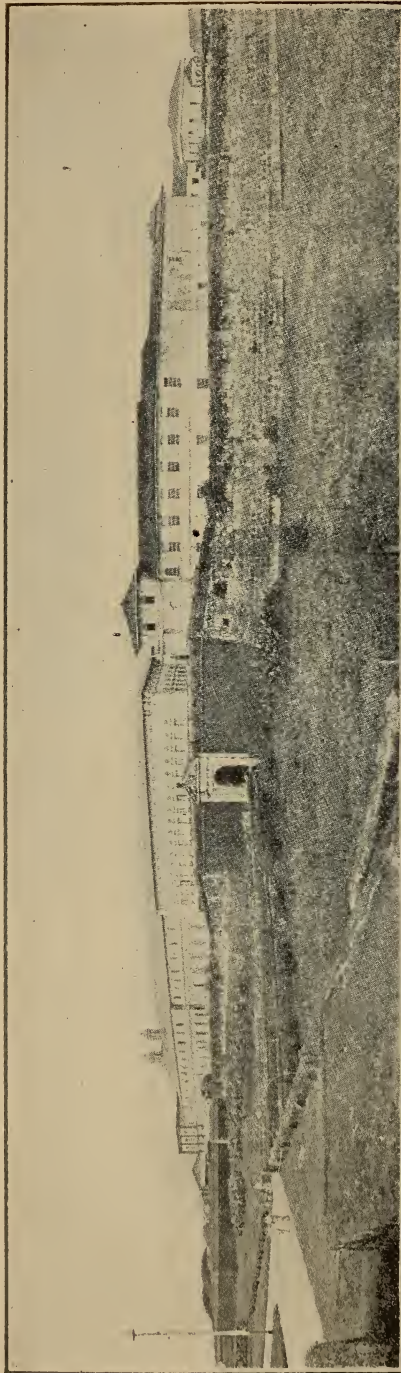
Ayuntamiento, Manila (Civil Commission Headquarters)

Filipino office-holder is as quick to learn as his children, and a number of the officials have adopted the short, concise, official style of America in their correspondence.

In every way the civil government has endeavored to carry out the educational features of the President's instructions. It has established an Agricultural Bureau which is conducted by able and experienced persons and provided with the most modern appliances and apparatus that will work havoc with all the relics of a by-gone age now in use here, that only serve to recall husbandry as it was on the banks of the Nile when the Pharaohs reigned.

A Health Department, with ramifications throughout the Archipelago, has likewise been created, and during the present cholera epidemic it has done more to instruct the native in latter-day methods and to eradicate old ideas and superstitions than almost any other innovation. The average native by nature and Spanish teaching has always believed that he was in the hands of the Almighty, and was not trammelled by any duties or obligations. *Dios ang bahala* (God will provide) was his motto, and come better or come worse it was all the same to him. When the epidemic came and the Health Department met it heroically, he soon learned that those of his fellows who followed the rules laid down for preventing a spread of the disease were often saved, while others who supinely waited on Providence were taken hence, and he profited by the lesson. He also discovered during this time that the authorities were his friends and not his enemies, as he had always considered them in former times.

Another great work of the civil authorities was the creation of the Philippines Constabulary in August of last year, a body which by its loyal work has justified its creation and now forms the bulwarks of the civil regime. Composed of 5596 natives officered by 230 Americans, the large majority of whom have seen hard service in the field, it is gradually taking the place of the army, as the latter is reduced and sent home. On December 11, 1901, the army occupied 459 posts in the Islands; on the 15th of September, 1902, it occupied 177, the stations abandoned in that time being 282. The number of army posts occupied by the Constabulary and military is 39. The total



Jesuit College

Procuracion de San Agustin
Magallanes Drive, Manila

Convents de San Agustin

number of Constabulary posts in the Archipelago at this time is 225. The following figures relating to the Philippines Constabulary will also be of interest: The arms on hand on September 15, 1902, were 2405 shotguns, 2502 revolvers, 3472 rifles, and 1423 carbines. The number of ponies on hand was 750, of which 552 were fit for service. The arms captured and surrendered since the organization of the Constabulary have been 1316 rifles and carbines, 381 revolvers, 186 shotguns, 14 cannon, 6 muskets, 174 native-made guns, 6 iron and 6 wooden guns; fire-arms of all kinds captured and surrendered since the organization of the Constabulary, 2089; rounds of ammunition captured, 11,691; rounds assorted, 155 cannon balls, 6 cases of one-pound rapid fire shells, 1½ cans gunpowder; casualties to inspectors and enlisted men since the organization of the body: killed, two inspectors and 20 enlisted men; wounded, 42 enlisted men; expeditions made since organization, 2736; miles covered, 110,466; stolen animals recovered since the organization, 738 carabaos, 162 horses, 40 oxen, and 19 head of neat cattle.

The police force of the City of Manila is remarked upon by every visitor to the capital. It is on a par with any similar body of men anywhere.

All this has been the work of two years, and much of it has been accomplished in the face of great obstacles, not the least of which has been the securing of good material to fill the offices where the field is naturally limited, and the difficulty of retaining it. The experience of one of the large departments of the Civil Government will convey an idea of this. It employs 475 men, and has discharged 190 of these in the last six months, 180 of whom resigned, in greater part to accept better positions in private life or in other offices. It will be readily seen that if the same ratio of discharges continues for the next six months that 82 per cent. of the force will have to be renewed in the period of one year. A problem this which cries aloud for solution.

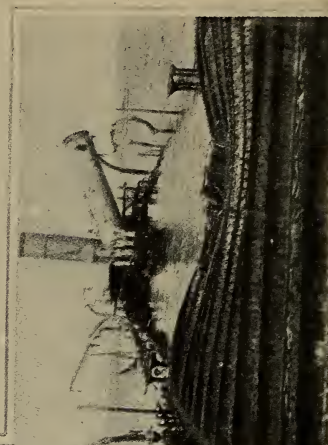
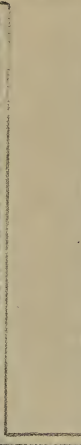
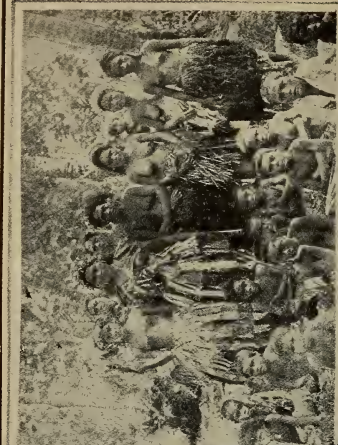
Space forbids a more detailed statement of what America has done in the Philippines; but one thing is certain: These Islands have passed from the sovereignty of a nation that revels in retrospection to that of a young and stalwart nation that



Filipinos Bathing
Spanish Boat sunk by Dewey



Burning of Tondo
Filipino Skulls
U. S. Mail arriving at Manila



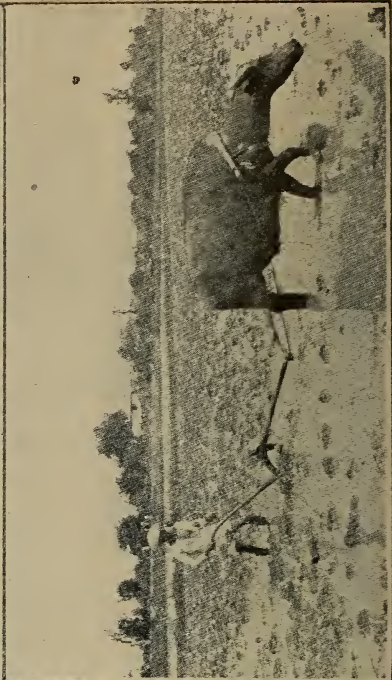
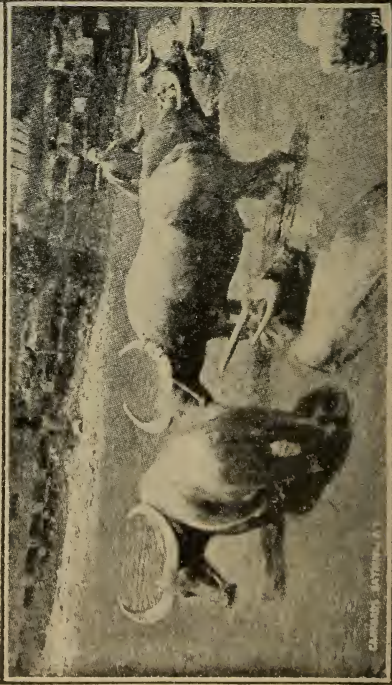
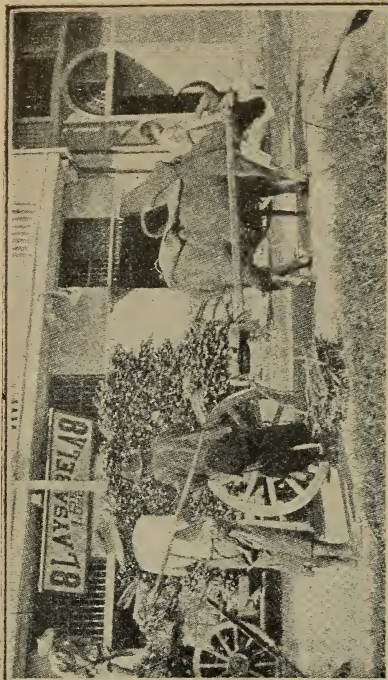
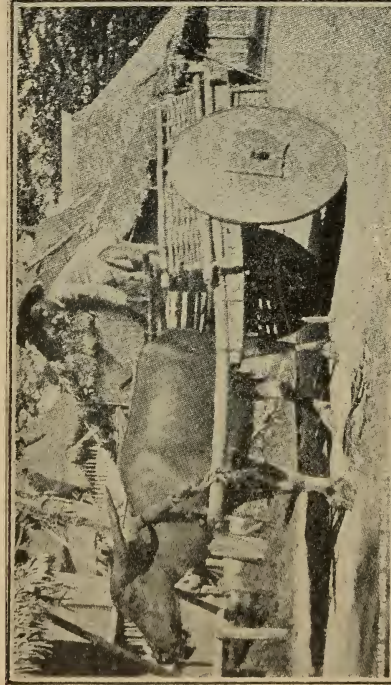
Ilocano Savages
Spanish Boat sunk by Dewey

rejoices in anticipation. One is looking backward, the other forward.

America is in the Philippines to protect the weak and uneducated majority from the encroachments and despotism of the educated and wealthy minority. She is here to enlighten, uplift and dignify the native races and furnish them justification for their pride of race; to do away with forced labor among them; to teach them disinterested patriotism, and bring them to a realization of the fact that they best serve the public who forget themselves.

America has been already long enough in the Philippines to show the inhabitants of these fair Islands that the men from the Occident came to the Orient in no repellant guise, but as friends who would share with them the blessings of liberty.

The natives, as a fact, have known two Americas. The America they knew through the armed forces of the United States, they respected; the America they came to know through the civil agents of the United States, they admire, and in the process of time—let us hope—will revere.

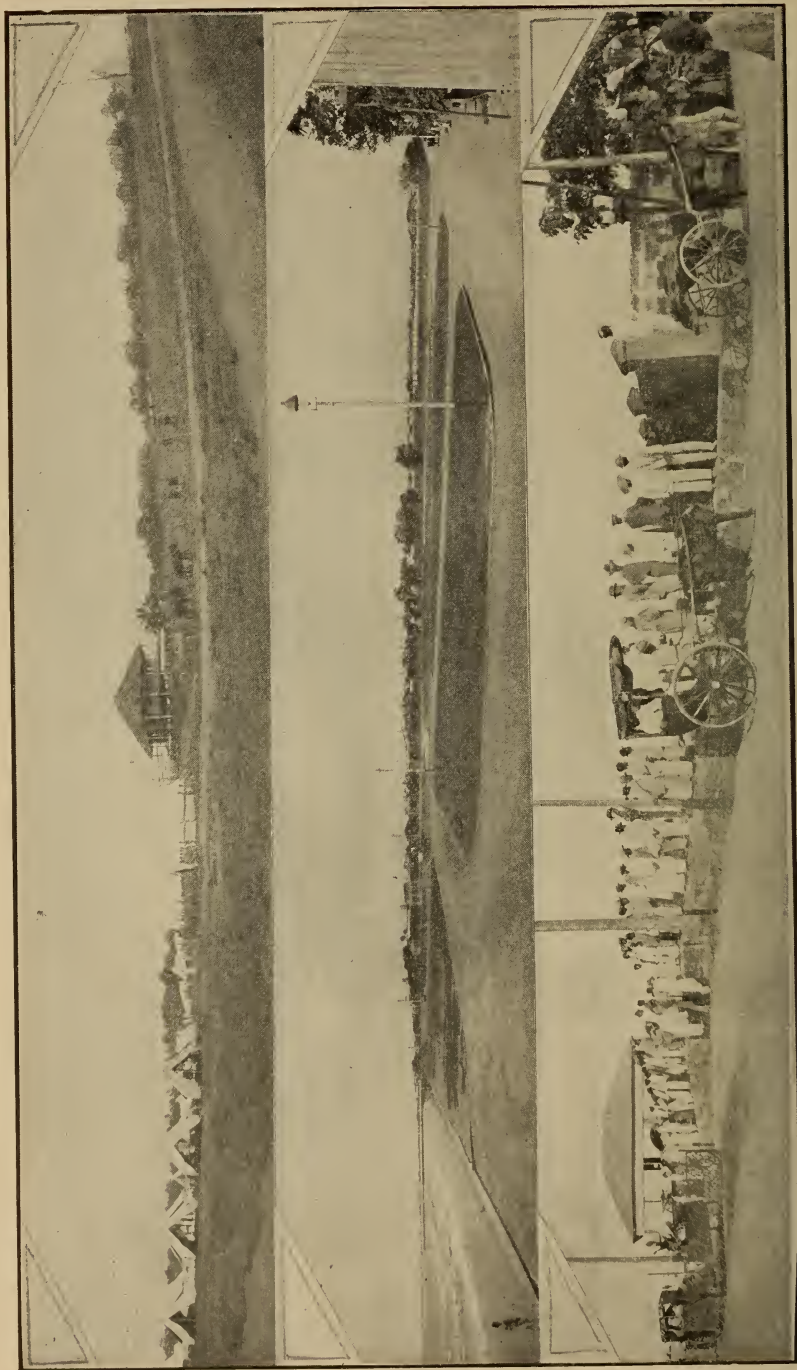


Business Opportunities in the Philippines.

By Captain F. E. GREEN, President Chamber of Commerce, Manila, P. I.

In considering the development of the Philippine Islands prior to the American occupation, it must be remembered that less than 25 per cent. of the area of the Islands was directly under Spanish rule. The most favorably disposed and conveniently situated parts of the Archipelago were given agricultural attention, while the other parts were allowed to lie fallow, or were left with such cultivation as the Filipinos cared to give them. As a rule the Spaniards did little to encourage the development of the country's resources—in fact, they seem to have stultified rather than fostered agricultural enterprise. This resulted from (a) an unjust system of taxation; (b) insufficient protection to property holders; (c) excessive support of the Church. An illustration of this latter is found in the fact that in many towns of a population of several thousand, the valuation of the church buildings exceeds that of the total of all other buildings. As a result of these conditions, the people have had but little inducement to develop the country or accumulate wealth. They preferred a poverty which yielded nothing to an increment which would be consumed by others. In consequence, real business opportunities were made available to only Spanish and foreign houses, who advanced money each year, wherever necessary, to small farmers and planters, thus securing the first lien on each year's products. The deadening results of such a system can easily be imagined.

Under American rule, with more adequate protection, just taxation, property rights respected, importation of modern farming implements and machinery and with the introduction of experimental farms and new methods, with education and improved sanitation to avoid epidemic diseases, and with general imports greater than ever before, there should be development and growth all over the country. New conditions will create new demands; with this will come higher aspirations; the things which were formerly regarded as luxuries will now be looked upon as necessities. The result of all this should be an unprecedented stimulation in every phase of native life. Ambition will be aroused, and every energy excited to healthful activity.



U. S. Camp Scene, Malabang, Mindanao, P. I.
Luneta, Manila
Stealing a view of a Base Ball Game

One of the results of such a reformation should be a general development of the country's wonderful resources. Of these, but little is at present known. Few persons realize that in these Islands one acre of ground can produce sufficient to support a large family. Among the staple products the principal are: hemp, sugar, tobacco, timber, indigo, and rubber. The supply of these products can be increased almost without limit. Among other products are: cotton and grains. Experiments demonstrate that these two latter will flourish in a manner which compares advantageously with the most favored places of production.

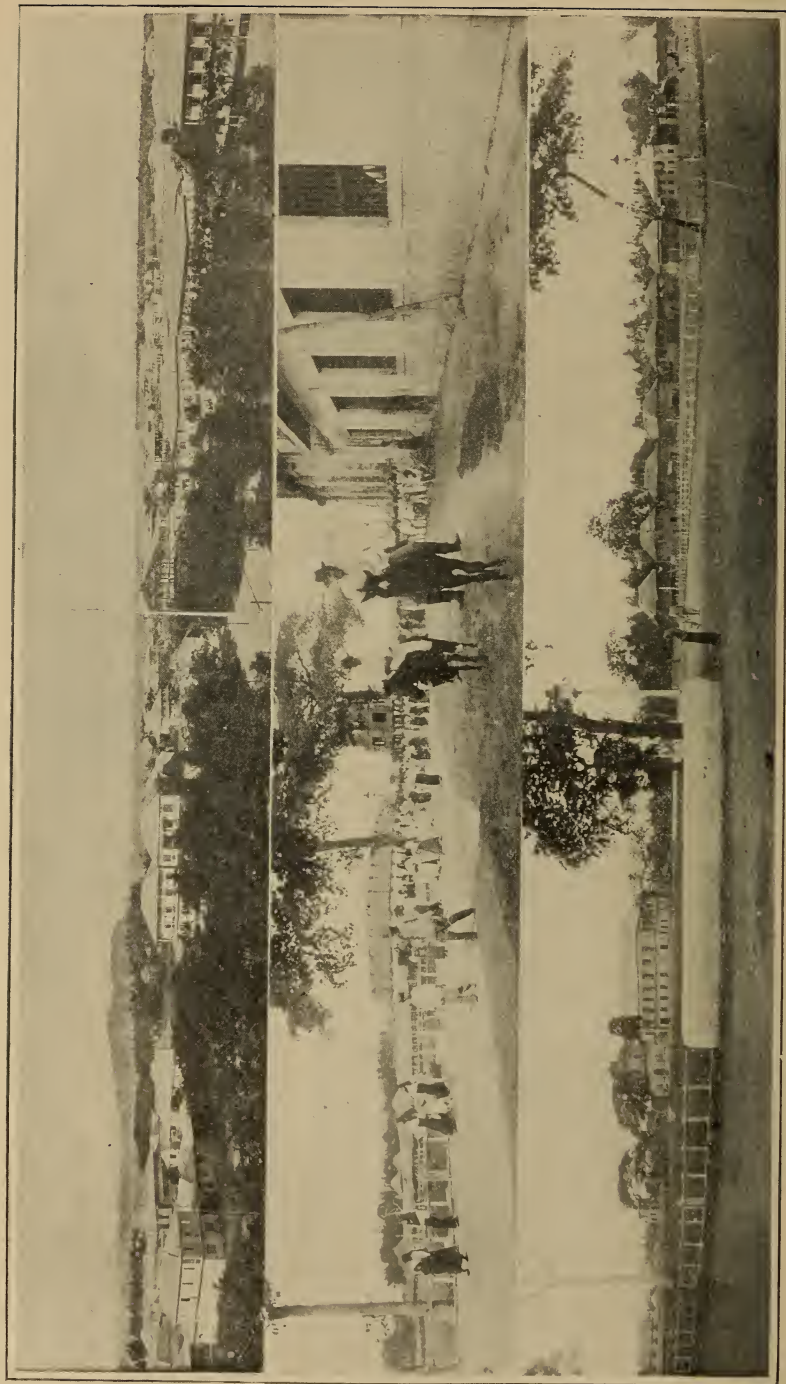
The Archipelago is equally well favored with minerals. The possibilities in this direction are now only beginning to be known. Coal, copper, and gold have been worked in many parts for centuries, but in such a manner as to give only a hint of the great wealth now lying latent.

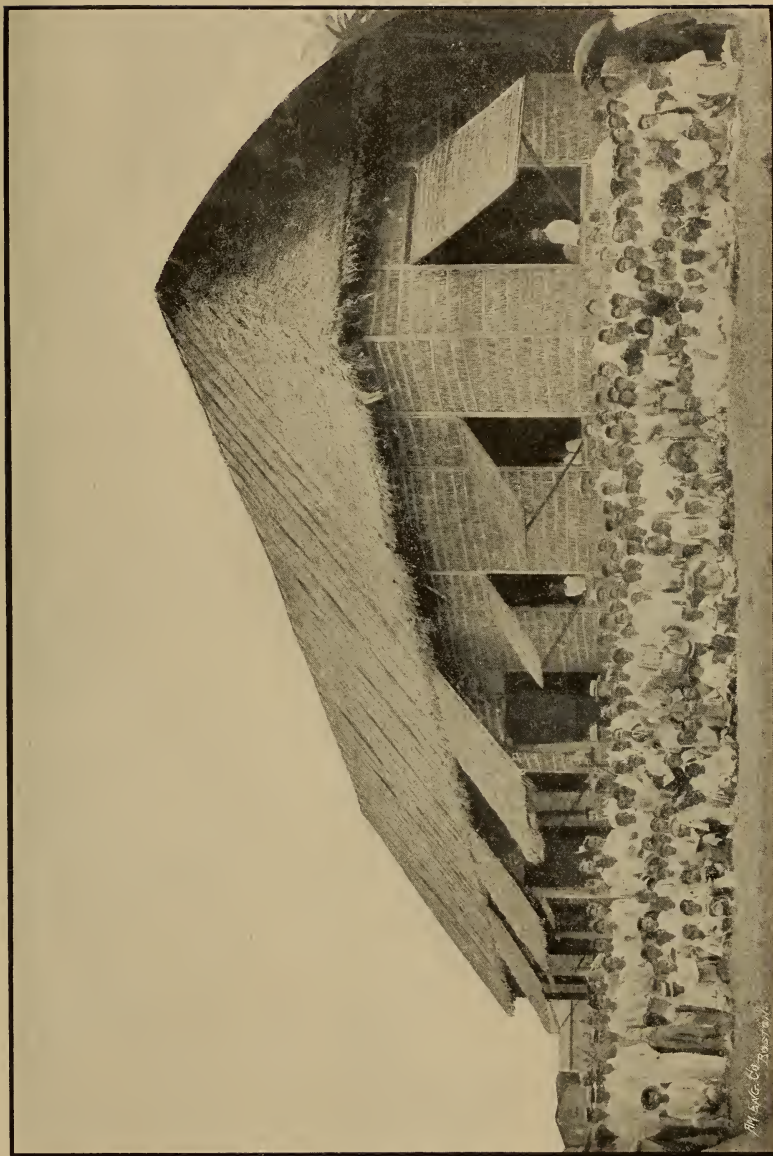
Among our present needs stands first of all, foreign labor. Native labor has proved thoroughly inefficient and unreliable. The necessity of labor other than Filipino is universally recognized, and has commended itself even to the Filipino employer, who urges it quite as strongly as Americans and Europeans.

Another crying need is more capital. The wonderful opportunities for investment are altogether generally unrealized. Industries now in their infancy have a future whose horizon is unbounded.

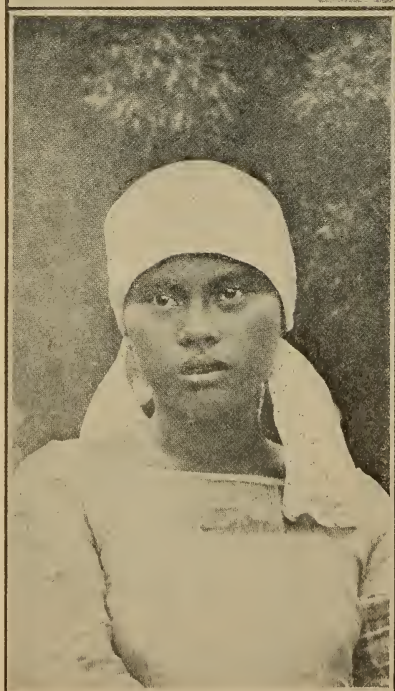
Besides, this is a country, not only for the capitalist, but for the man with only reasonable means. A rich soil and a kindly climate offer every inducement to the settler. It is often remarked that the Philippine climate is unhealthy, but with proper care it is no more so than that of the United States. The health of the soldiers in camps where good sanitation prevails, compares favorably with that among those at home.

The Philippine Archipelago is a land of promise. In the East it is recognized as the coming center of commercial activity. Its wonderful fertility, combined with its mineral resources, warrant the most sanguine expectations and prophesy a magnificent future. The best evidence of this is the firm and unwavering faith of those who are here, and have been here, and have spied out the land. They have seen and are satisfied.



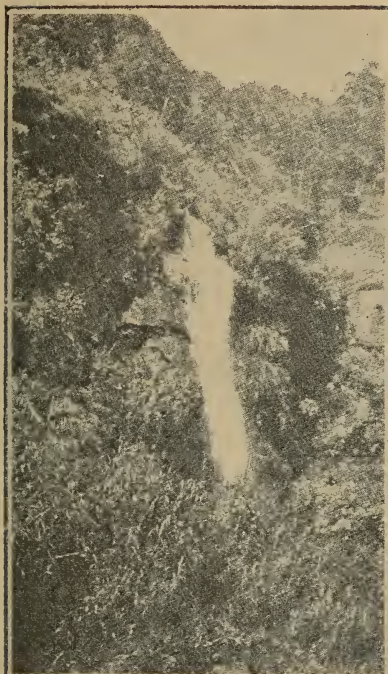


American School House and American School Teachers teaching the English Language to the Filipinos



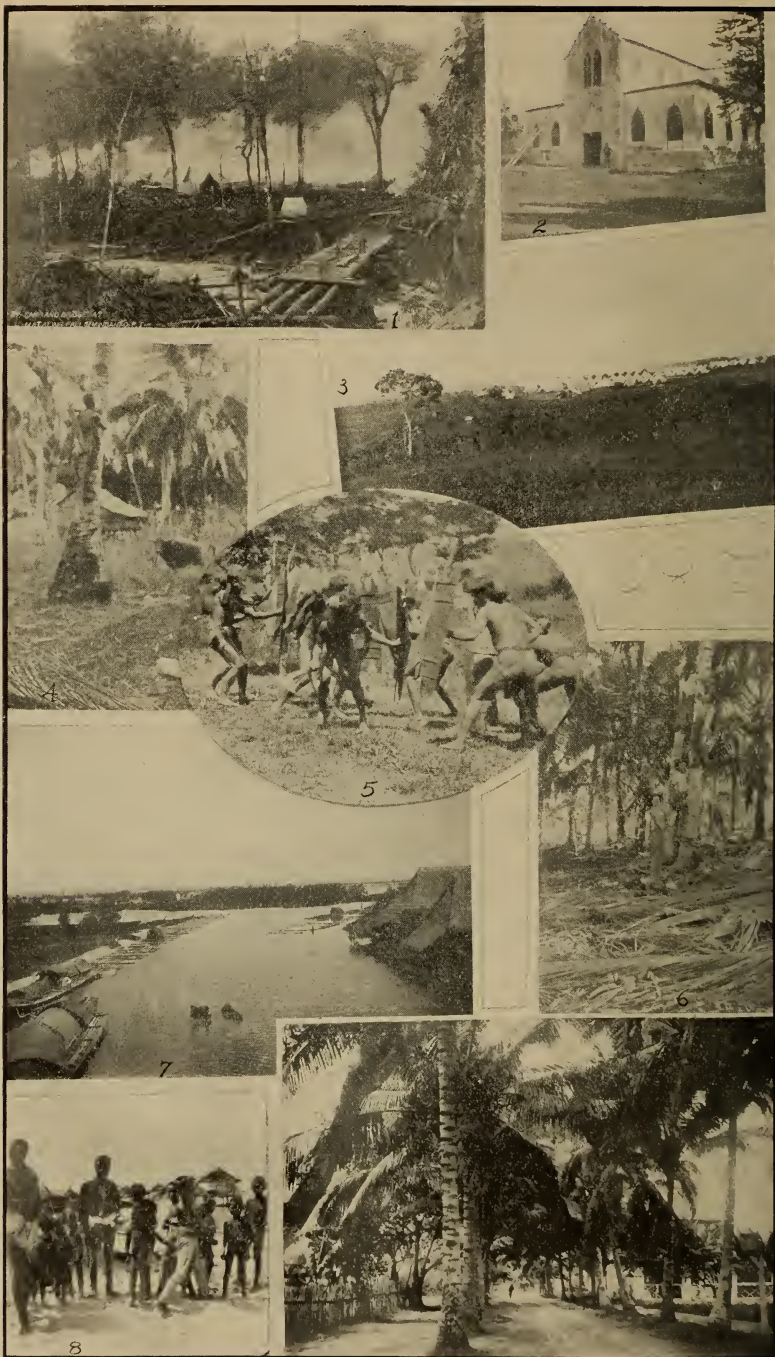
A Filipino Child
Ilocano Woman

A Manila Girl
Visayan Woman



Waterfalls at Benguet
Gathering "Tuba"

Gorge at Pagsanjan, P. I.
On the Pagsanjan River



1 U. S. Troops Building Bridges

2 Church at Iloilo, P. I.

3 U. S. Army Camp, Mindanao, P. I.

4 Natives Treed by a Carabao

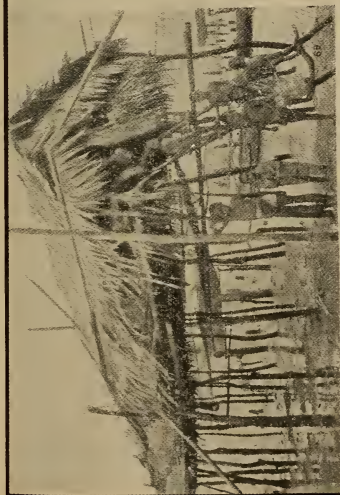
5 War Dance of the Savages

6 Gathering Cocoanuts

7 Entrance to Iloilo, P. I.

8 Moro Kids

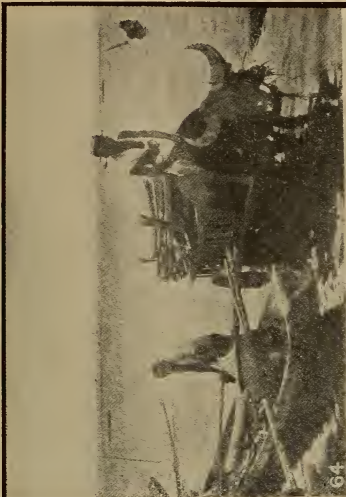
9 Street Scenes, Zamboanga, P. I.



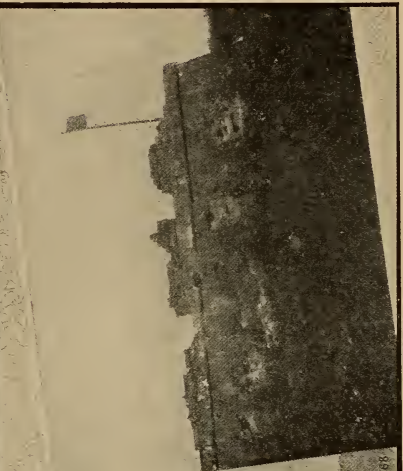
Filipino Fisherman's Home
U. S. Soldier Taking a Ride in Japan

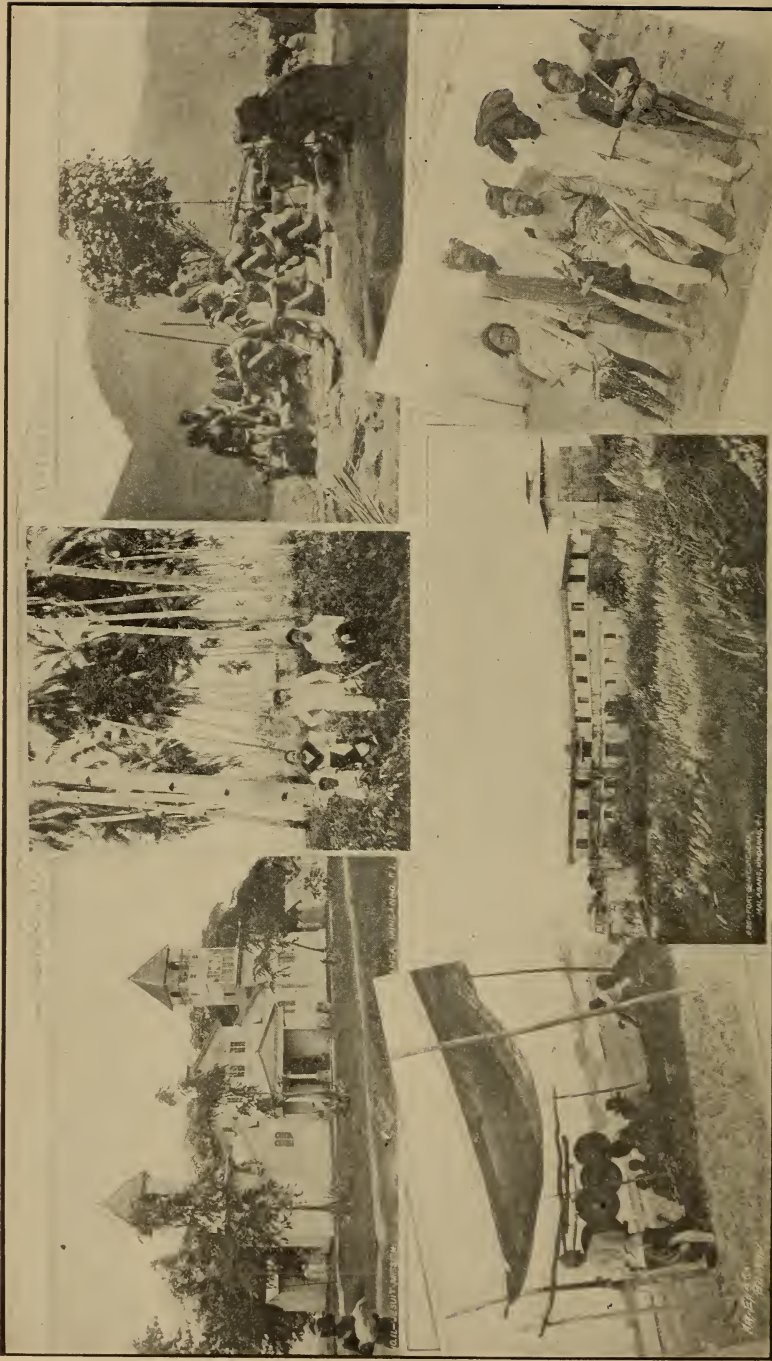


Making Love in the Philippines
Filipino Soldiers' Outpost



Filipinos Picking Up Wood at the Beach
Fort at Manila

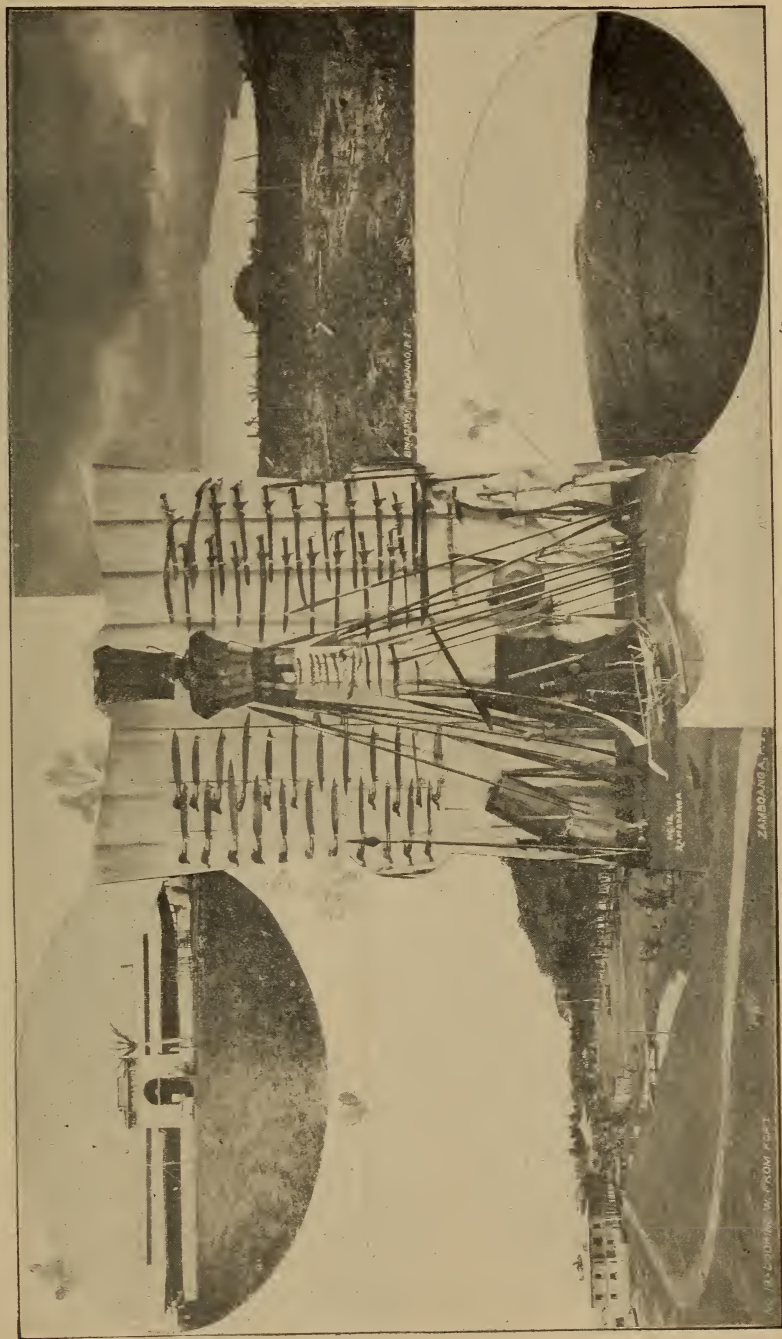




Jesuit Mission
Moro Serenade

Cocoanut Grove
Fort Genl. Corcuera, Malabang, Mindanao

Ilocano Savages
Moro Chief and Slaves



Lake Lanao, Mindanao, P. I.
Spanish Fort, Mindanao, P. I.

Bolos, Spears and Knives used by the Moros

Fort at Zamboanga, Mindanao, P. I.
Scene at Zamboanga P. I.

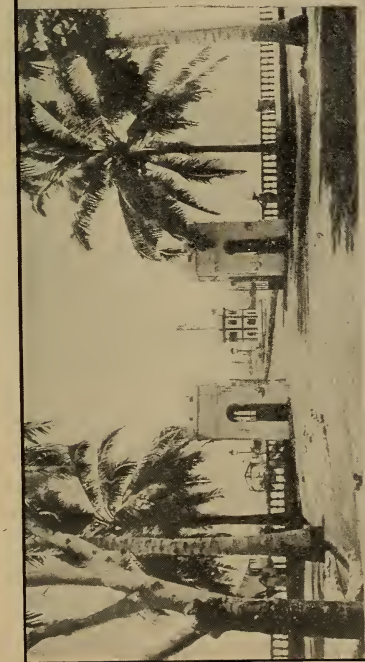


Pet Pony at Malabang, P. I.

Generals Davis, Chaffee and Baldwin and Staff at Mindanao, P. I.

U. S. Troopers

Cocoanut Grove
Ilocano Savages



Entrance to Zamboanga, Mindanao, P. I.
Moro Musicians



Moro Musical Entertainment
Ilocano Savages





1 Ilocano Woman Weaving Silk
2 Entrance to Zamboanga, P. I.

3 Spanish Fort in Mindanao
4 The famous Sultan of Jolo and
Col. Wallace, U. S. Army



AMERICAN ENG. CO. BOSTON, MASS.

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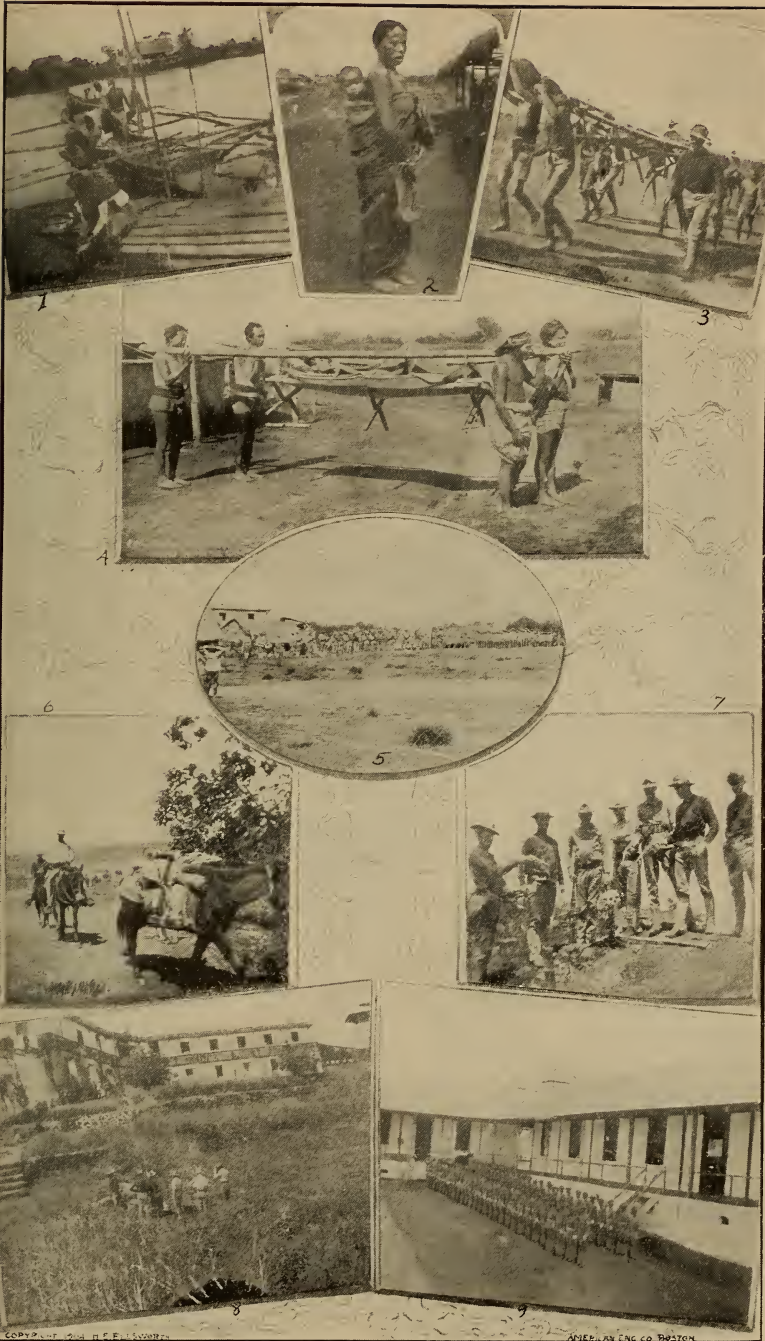
- 1 The Niagara of Mindanao
- 2 Moro Woman
- 3 Moro Making Fish Net

- 4 Blowing up Fort Paulus
- 5 Moro Savage
- 6 U. S. Troops on Parade



- 1 Moro Chiefs and Slaves
- 2 Fishing Stream
- 3 Moro Carpenter
- 4 Moro Savages
- 5 General Sumner and Moro Chiefs

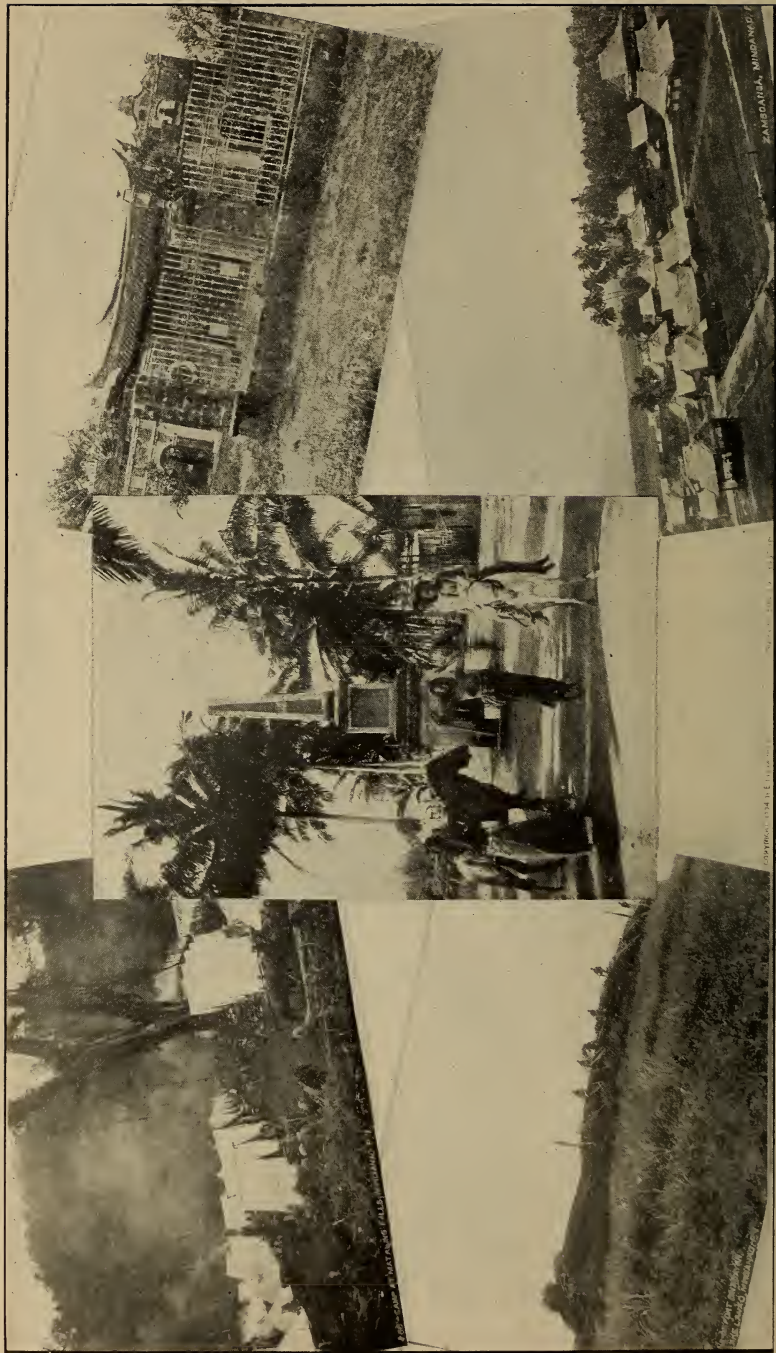
- 6 Rice Field
- 7 Filipino Presidente's Home
- 8 Filipino Funeral
- 9 Camp Wallace, Manila



- 1 Moro Fishermen
- 2 Moro Woman and Kid
- 3 Soldiers returning from Battle
- 4 Moros carrying sick Soldier
- 5 Scene at Malabang, P. I.

- 6 Mule Train
- 7 Soldiers and Filipino Skulls
- 8 Scene at Malabang
- 9 U. S. Troops at Jolo, P. I.

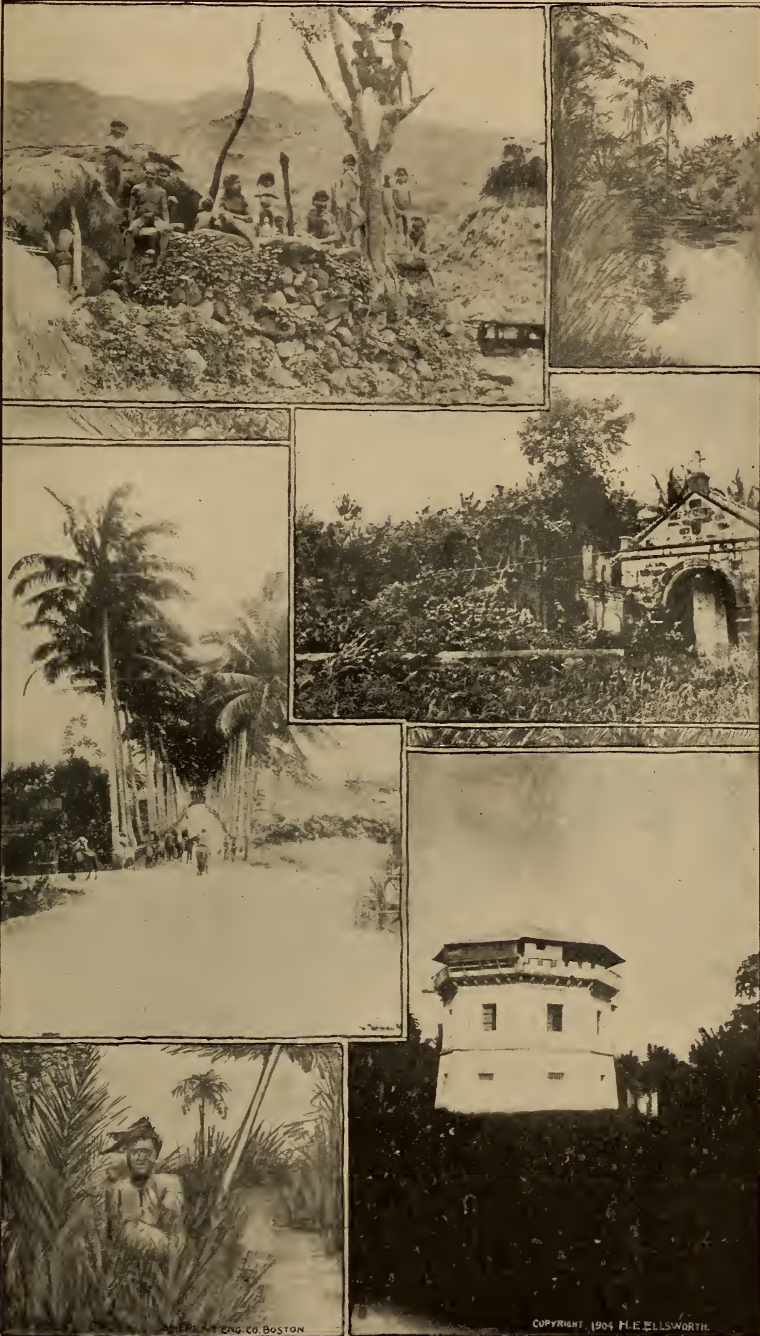
Copyright, 1904, by Herbert E. Ellsworth



U. S. Camp in Mindanao, P. I.
Moro Fort

Moro Woman Posing

Chinese Tomb
Zamboanga, P. I.



Ilocano Savages
Cocoanut Avenue

Filipino Tomb
Old Spanish Fort

Constitution

of the

Young Men's Republican Club.

ARTICLE I.

This association shall be called the YOUNG MEN'S REPUBLICAN CLUB OF RHODE ISLAND, and its object, the encouragement of Republican principles.

ARTICLE II.

The officers of this Club shall consist of a President, three Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer, an Executive Council, a Finance Committee, a Committee on Membership, a Registration Committee, and a Committee on Speakers, to be elected at each annual meeting.

ARTICLE III.

It shall be the duty of the President to preside at all meetings of the Club, to preserve order, to put questions to vote, and to give the casting vote, to supply vacancies in the offices of the Club until the same are otherwise supplied, to state the business on record to be transacted, to appoint all committees, unless otherwise ordered by the Club, or the Executive Council, and he may at any time supply his place in the chair, but shall resume the same at the request of three members.

ARTICLE IV.

In the absence of the President, the duties of the office shall devolve upon the Vice-Presidents in order of seniority, and in the absence of all, a Chairman shall be elected by a majority of the members present.

ARTICLE V.

It shall be the duty of the Secretary to keep a true record of the proceedings of the Club, to take charge of all papers

and documents belonging to the Club, to notify all members of admission, and generally to perform all the duties appertaining to the office of Secretary.

ARTICLE VI.

It shall be the duty of the Treasurer to keep all accounts, receive all money belonging to the Club, pay all bills when properly audited, and report the state of the treasury at every annual meeting, or oftener if required ; he may be required to give bond with satisfactory sureties, in such an amount as may be determined by the executive Council.

ARTICLE VII.

The Executive Council shall consist of the President, three Vice-Presidents, Secretary and Treasurer, *ex officio*, and one member from each ward of the City of Providence, whose duties it shall be to consider all matters relating to the Club, other than those provided in this Constitution for the other committees.

ARTICLE VIII.

The Finance Committee shall consist of five members, whose duty it shall be to audit all bills, and consider all matters relating to the finances of the Club.

ARTICLE IX.

The Committee on Membership shall consist of three members from each of the wards of the City of Providence, to whom all applications for membership shall be referred, and by them considered.

ARTICLE X.

The Registration Committee shall consist of one member from each voting district of each ward of the City of Providence. The Chairman of each ward committee shall be the member of the Executive Council from each ward. The duty of the Registration Committee shall be to attend to all matters in their several wards that may be of interest to the Club, and the Republican party, report to the Club the state of the

registry for their several wards and use all proper means to induce citizens to register and become personal property voters.

ARTICLE XI.

The Committee on Speakers shall consist of five members, whose duty it shall be to provide speakers for the meetings of the Club and provide entertainment for said speakers so long as they shall be the guests of the Club.

ARTICLE XII.

The annual meeting of this Club shall be held on the second Thursday in January, at seven and one-half o'clock in the evening, when the officers shall be elected.

ARTICLE XIII.

The regular meetings of this Club shall be held on the second Thursday in the months of October, November, December, January, February, March, April and May, at seven and one-half o'clock in the evening.

ARTICLE XIV.

The admission fee to membership in this Club shall be \$1.00.

ARTICLE XV.

The annual tax of this Club shall be \$5.00, which shall be due and payable semi-annually in advance, on the first day of January and the first day of July in each year.

ARTICLE XVI.

All elections by this Club shall be by ballot, unless otherwise ordered.

ARTICLE XVII.

This constitution may be amended by a vote of three-fourths of the members present at any regular meeting or at any special meeting called for that purpose. All proposed amendments shall be stated in writing and notice thereof mailed to each member at least two weeks in advance of the meeting at which such amendments are to be proposed for adoption.

By-Laws

of the

Young Men's Republican Club.

ARTICLE I.—MEETINGS.

Section 1.—Eight members shall constitute a quorum for the ordinary business of the Club, but no alterations in the By-Laws or rules of order, nor any order incurring expense upon the members of the Club, shall be made unless at least twenty-five members are present, and voting on the question.

Sec. 2.—A special meeting shall be called by the President at any time, or at the written request of eight members, and the secretary shall notify the members of such meeting.

Sec. 3.—The following rules of order shall be observed at the meetings of this Club :

1. The proceedings of the previous meeting shall be read.
2. Reports of Committees.
3. General Business.
4. Ayes and nays shall be called and recorded by the Secretary at the request of one-fifth of the members present.

ARTICLE II.—MEMBERSHIP.

Section 1.—All propositions for membership shall be on a printed form, to be furnished by the Secretary, which shall be signed by the person applying for membership, and shall be approved by the Ward Committee on Membership of the ward in which the applicant resides. Said application shall be read at any regular or special meeting of the Club, and, if approved by the Ward Committee, the applicant shall be admitted to

membership at the same meeting, provided a four-fifth vote of those present be cast in his favor.

Sec. 2.—All propositions for membership shall be sent to the Secretary, who shall refer them immediately to the proper Ward Committee.

Sec. 3.—Any member of this Club may invite visitors to any regular or special meeting with the exception of the annual meeting, by giving a proper notice to the Secretary, and by paying the sum of \$2.00 for each visitor.

Sec. 4.—Any person who shall have been admitted a member and shall neglect to pay his annual tax for three months, from the time of his admission, shall be considered ineligible to membership, unless again proposed and admitted.

Sec. 5.—Any member shall be entitled to withdraw from the Club by giving a written notice to the Secretary six weeks previous to the next regular meeting.

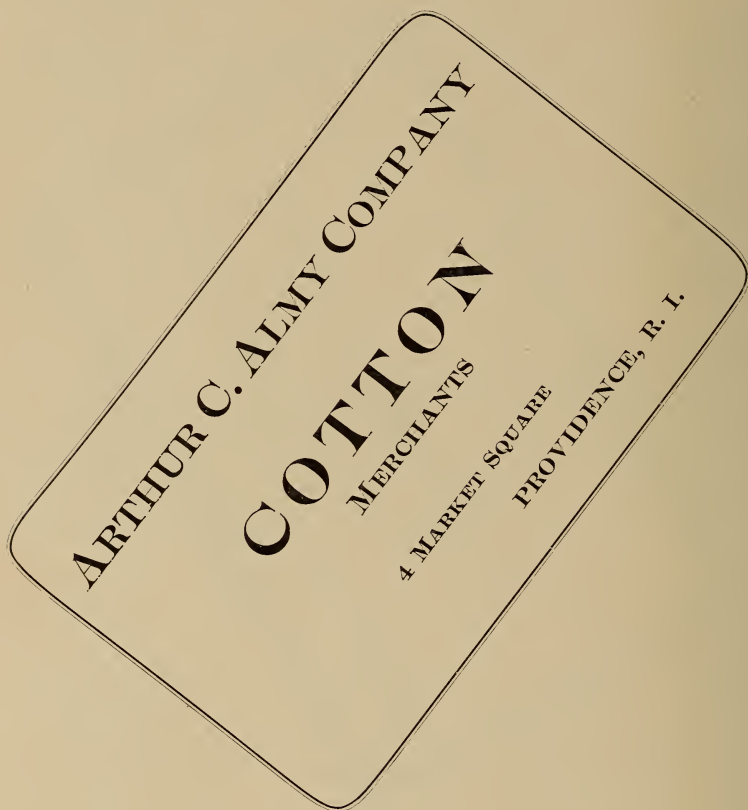
Sec. 6.—Any member shall be liable to expulsion for disorderly or immoral conduct, or neglecting for six months to pay his proportion of assessments or taxes.

ARTICLE III.—FINANCES.

Section 1.—Special taxes or assessments cannot be levied upon the members of this Club, unless notice has been given by the member offering such resolution providing for such assessment or tax, at a previous regular meeting, nor unless twenty-five members are present and voting on the question, as provided in Article 1, Section 1.

Sec. 2.—No officer or member of this Club shall contract any bill against the Club without the approval of the Finance Committee. This shall not apply to the necessary expenses attending Regular Meetings, or to the expense of calling a Special Meeting of the Club.





FRANK R. PARSONS
Secretary

ARTHUR W. DENNIS
Treasurer

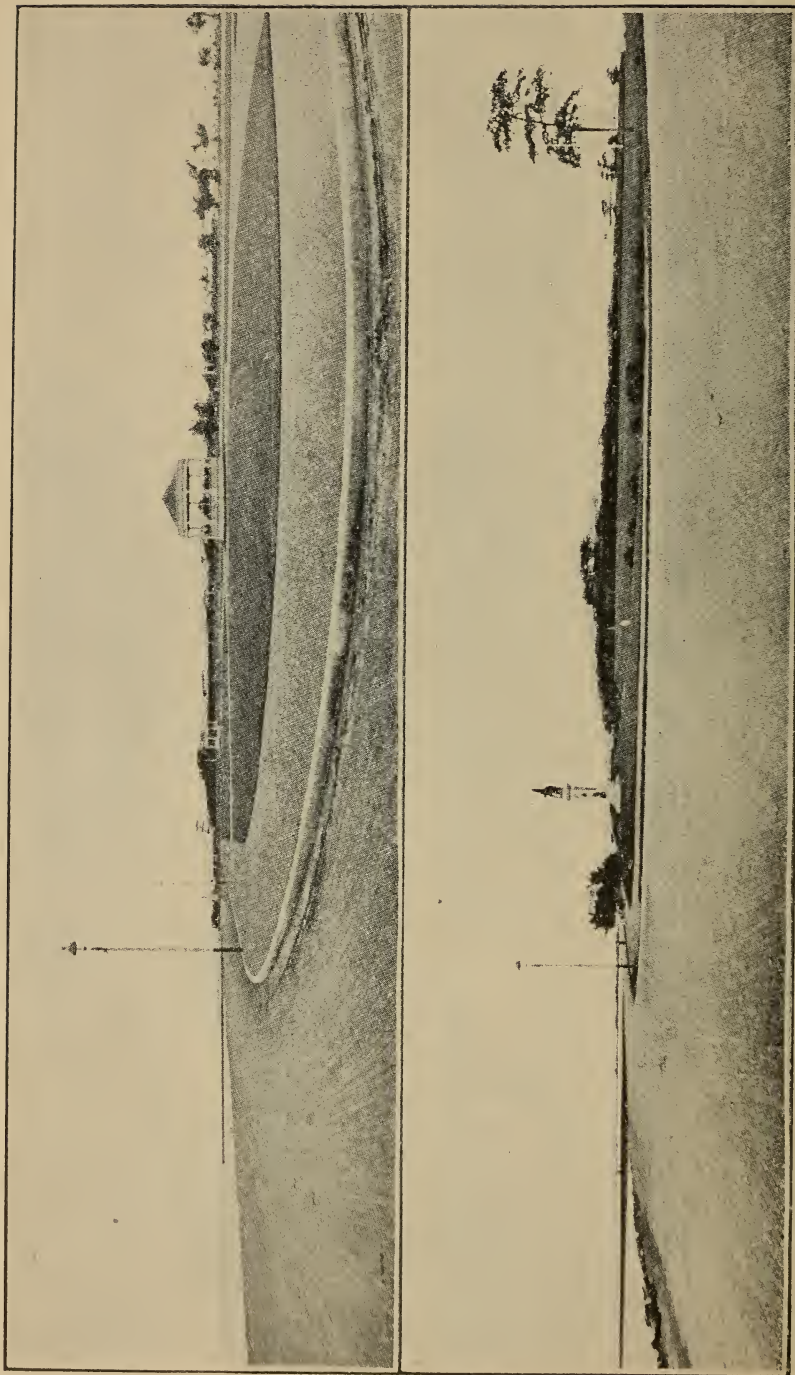
Elmwood Mills

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FINE TUBULAR SHOE LACES.



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MANUFACTURERS OF
FINE TUBULAR SHOE LACES



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The Luneta, showing Legaspi Monument, Manila

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ENGINEERS AND CONTRACTORS

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Steam and Water work

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INDUSTRIAL TRUST COMPANY, PROVIDENCE, R. I.

STATEMENT OF THE CONDITION as made under call of the
State Auditor, June 30, 1904

(CONDENSED)

Resources

Loans and Discounts	\$14,306,672	40
Real Estate Mortgages	973,335	13
Bonds and Stocks	10,595,258	54
Industrial Trust Company Building, Providence,	748,111	16
Industrial Trust Company Building, Pawtucket,	79,000	00
Other Real Estate	6,410	04
Call Loans	\$3,308,882	26
Due from Banks, Bankers and Treasurer of U. S.	3,999,789	38
Cash in Vaults	842,439	01
	<u>8,151,110</u>	<u>65</u>
	\$34,859,897	92

Liabilities

Capital Stock	\$1,500,000	00
Surplus	1,200,000	00
Undivided Profits	536,518	16
Deposits	31,623,379	76
	<u>34,859,897</u>	<u>92</u>

Board of Directors

Samuel P. Colt, President

Olney T. Inman, Yarn Manufacturer, Pascoag, R. I.

George Peabody Wetmore, U. S. Senator from Rhode Island

William R. Dupee, of Messrs. Nichols, Dupee & Co., Wool Merchants, Boston, Mass.

Warren O. Arnold, Woolen Manufacturer, Westerly, R. I.

Richard A. Robertson, Treas. Providence Engineering Works, Providence, R. I.

Joshua M. Addeman, Ex-Secretary of State, Vice-President

W. T. C. Wardwell, Ex-Lieutenant Governor, Bristol, R. I.

James M. Scott, Providence, R. I.

William H. Perry, Wholesale Iron and Steel, Providence, R. I.

Arthur L. Kelley, President Mechanical Fabric Co., Providence, R. I.

H. Martin Brown, Treasurer U. S. Bobbin and Shuttle Co., Providence, R. I.

Frederick Tompkins, Newport, R. I.

Levi P. Morton, Ex-Vice-President of United States, New York

James Stillman, President National City Bank, New York

George F. Baker, President First National Bank, New York

Richard A. McCurdy, President Mutual Life Ins. Co., New York

G. G. Haven, Director Mutual Life Ins. Co. and Nat'l Bank of Commerce, New York

Thomas F. Ryan, Vice-President Morton Trust Co., New York

Henry A. C. Taylor, Director National City Bank, New York, Newport, R. I.

George M. Thornton, Treasurer Union Wadding Co., Pawtucket, R. I.

George H. Norman, Newport, R. I.

Cyrus P. Brown, Treasurer

Elbridge T. Gerry, Newport, R. I.

Jacob H. Schiff, of Messrs. Kuhn, Loeb & Co., Bankers, New York

Richard S. Howland, General Manager Providence Journal Co., Providence, R. I.

Chas. C. Harrington, President Mechanics Savings Bank, Providence, R. I.

Joseph Davol, President Davol Rubber Co., Providence, R. I.

Louis H. Comstock, of Messrs. Comstock & Co., Providence, R. I.

Herbert N. Fenner, President New England Butt Co., Providence, R. I.

AMERICAN AND BRITISH
MANUFACTURING COMPANY

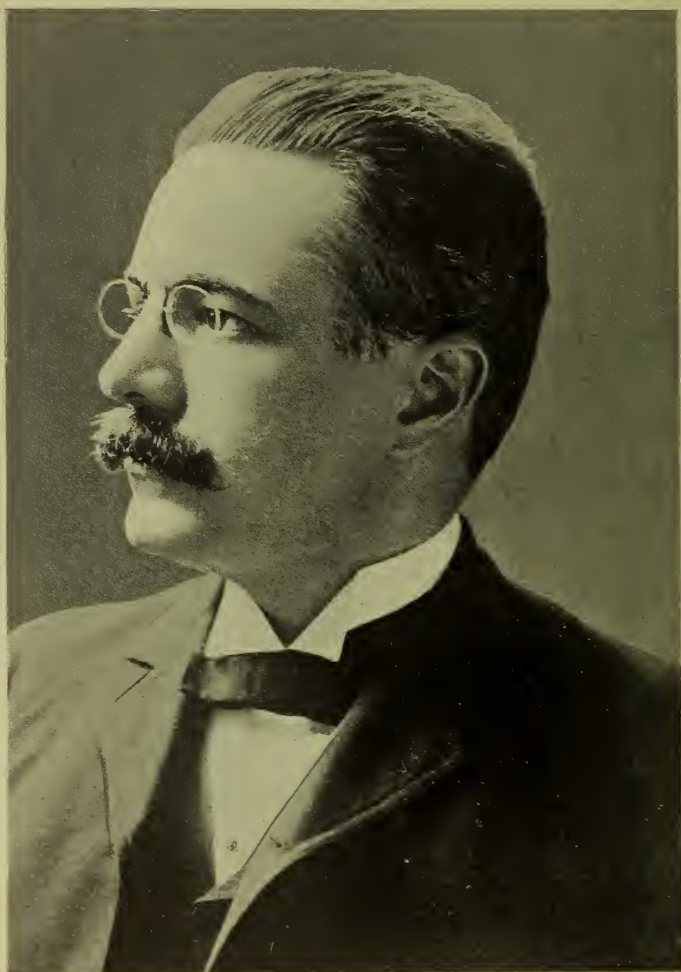
Bridgeport, Conn., Plant

Guns, Projectiles, Fuses
Drop and Hydraulic Forgings
Tools, Gauges, Models

Providence, R. I., Plant

Geo. H. Corliss Engines
Greene-Wheelock Engines
Diesel Engines

AMERICAN AND BRITISH
MANUFACTURING COMPANY



HON. GEORGE B. CORTLEYOU
CHAIRMAN REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Mr. Cortelyou got his first start in life through training received in a business school. Thousands of our leading business men look back to the business school as the first stepping-stone to success.

While the power to rise must be in the man, the business school brings out and reveals to him his power, and trains him to use that power successfully.

The Bryant and Stratton Business College, 357 Westminster Street, Providence, Rhode Island, points with just pride to its many graduates who are now successful business men. It remembers these students as untrained boys, many of them coming from the farm, or humble home, but who when the true principles of correct business were presented realized the possibilities that were open to them, and put themselves to close and serious study under the discipline and training of thorough and experienced teachers.

They were thus prepared to accept the positions the school, through its large acquaintance with the business world, was able to secure for them. In these positions, by the thorough training the school had given them, they were enabled to make thorough and rapid advancement towards the largest success.

The school can do for you what it did for them, and better, because of improved methods and environment.

The Principal, T. B. Stowell, will send you an illustrated catalogue post free on application.

DAVID M. THOMPSON, President
EDWIN HADLEY, JR., Sec'y and Treas.

F. W. REYNOLDS COMPANY



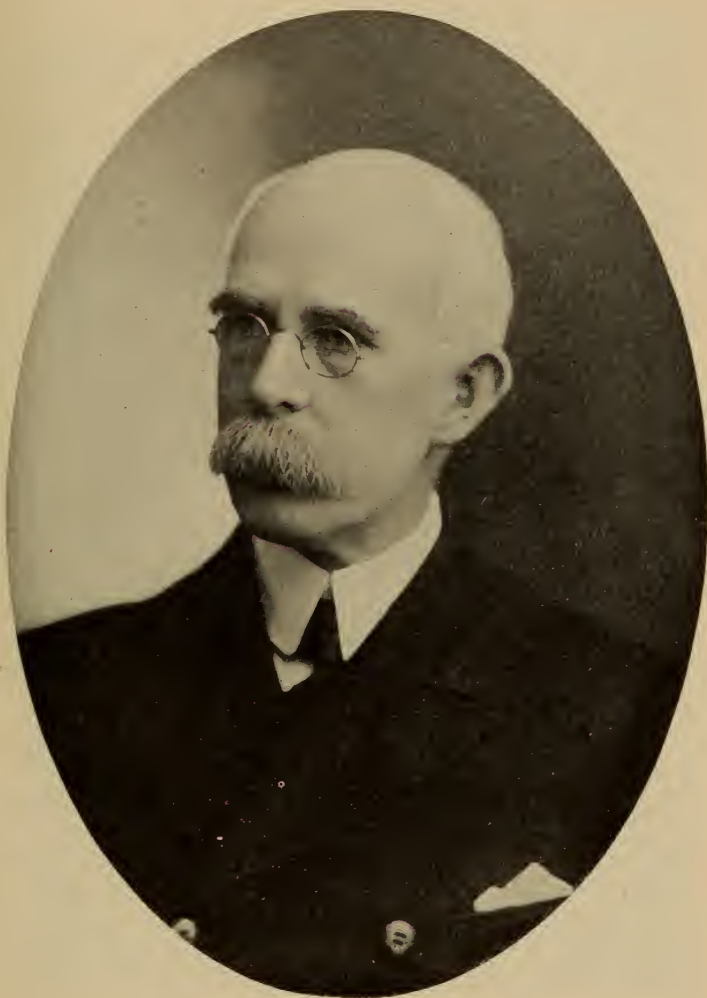
32-36 SOUTH WATER STREET

PROVIDENCE, R. I.

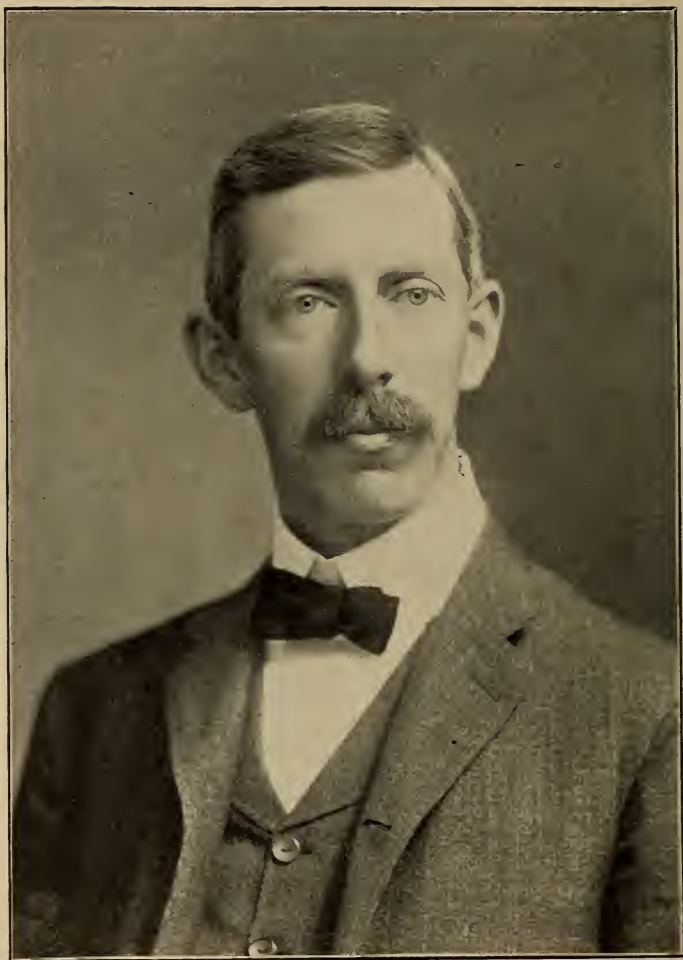
Cotton Merchants

American and Egyptian Cottons

Long Staples a specialty



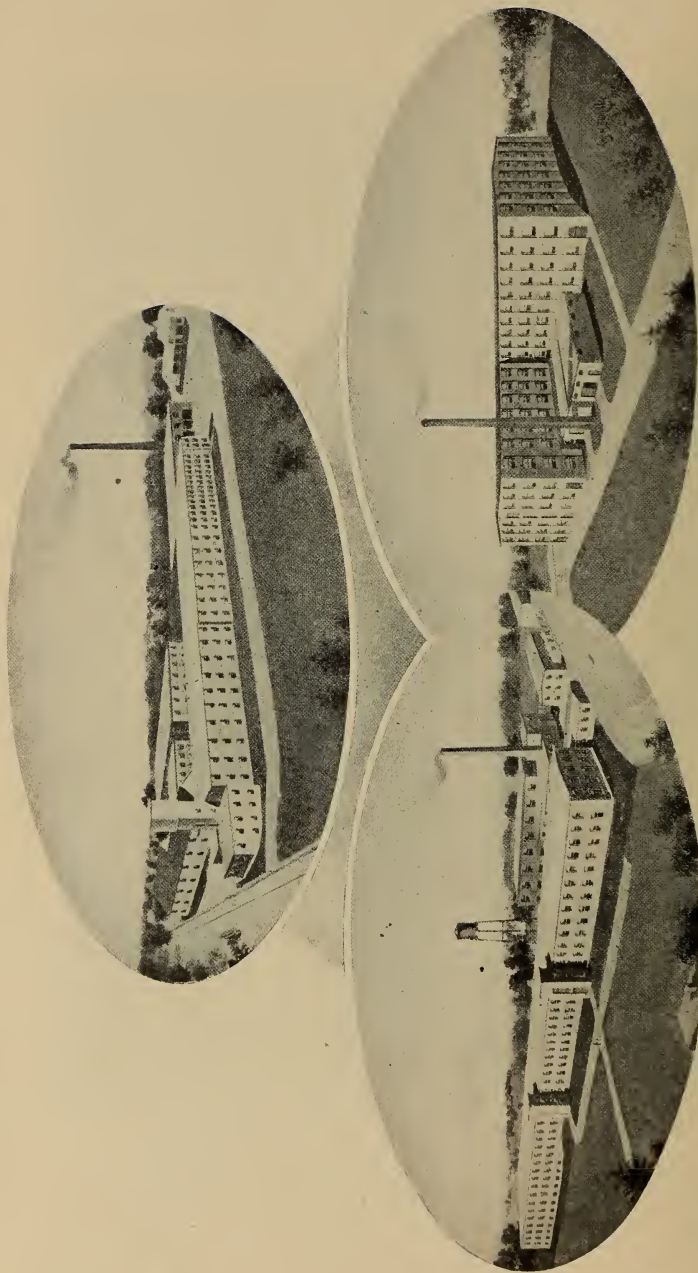
FREDERICK H. JACKSON
REPUBLICAN NOMINEE FOR LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR
OF RHODE ISLAND



WILLIAM B. GREENOUGH
REPUBLICAN NOMINEE FOR ATTORNEY GENERAL
OF RHODE ISLAND

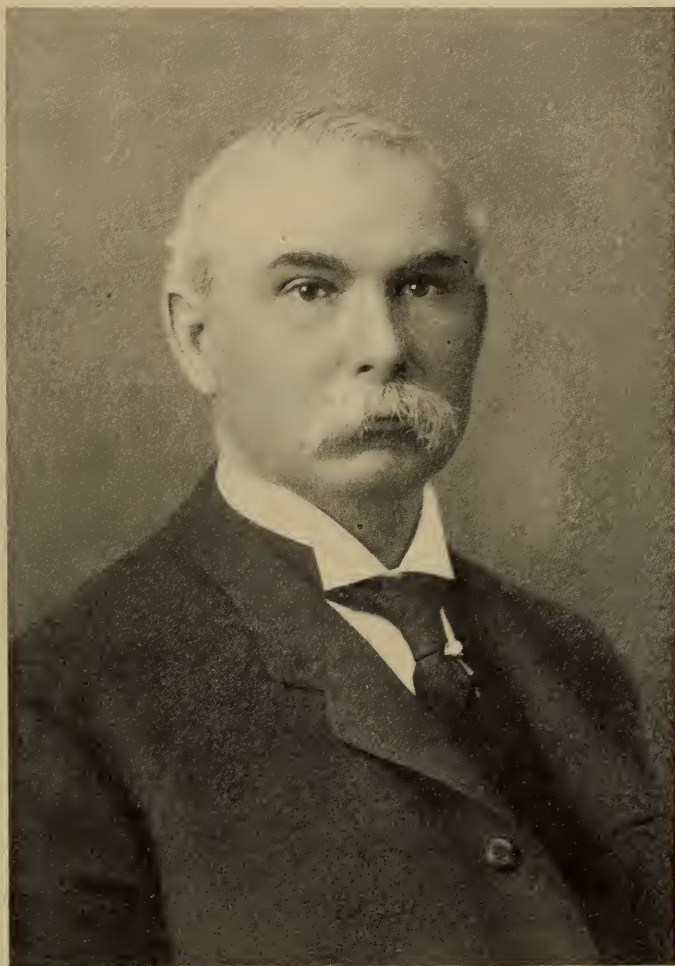


COL. SAMUEL POMROY COLT
PRESIDENT OF THE INDUSTRIAL TRUST COMPANY
PROVIDENCE, R. I.

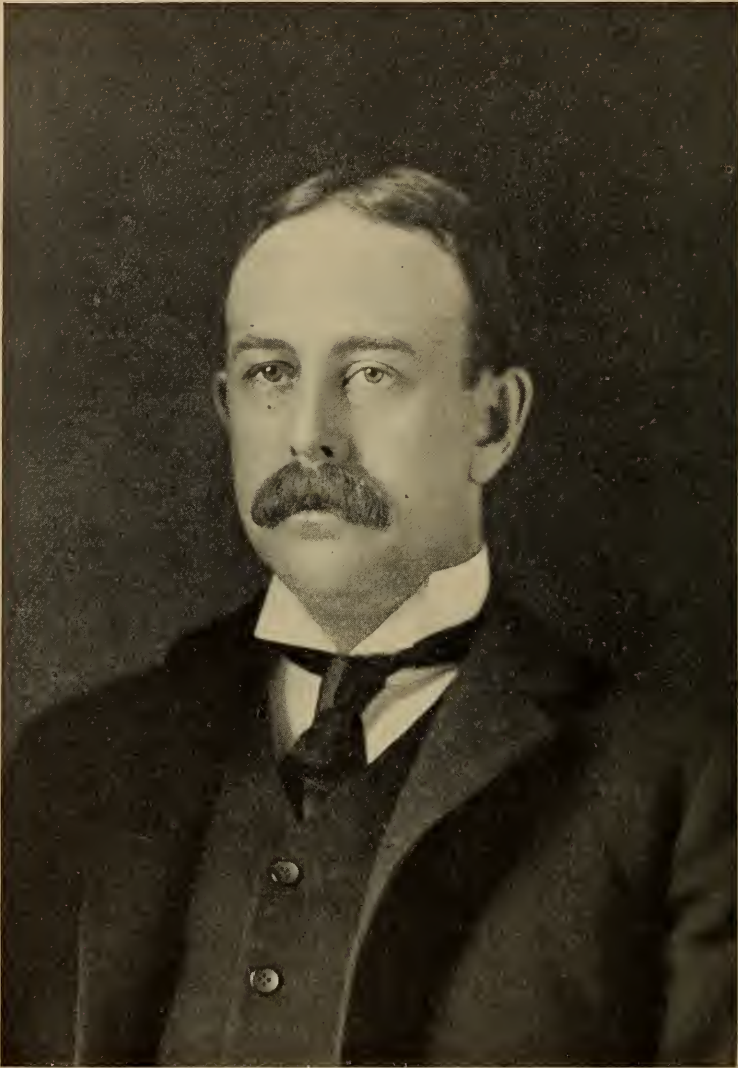


CENTREDALE WORSTED MILLS

Manufacturers of Worsted Yarns in Skeins, on Jackspools or Shuttle Bobbins
MILLS AT CENTREDALE, STILLWATER, AND OLNEYVILLE. OFFICE AT CENTREDALE, R. I.



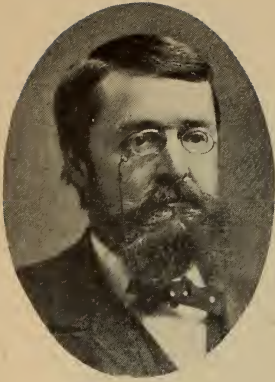
JAMES F. FREEMAN
PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF ALDERMEN
PROVIDENCE, R. I.



FRANK E. HOLDEN
CHAIRMAN REPUBLICAN STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF RHODE ISLAND



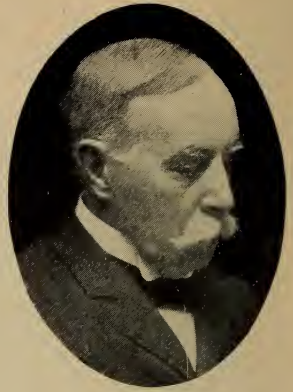
NATHAN M. WRIGHT
SECRETARY AND TREASURER REPUBLICAN STATE CENTRAL
COMMITTEE OF RHODE ISLAND



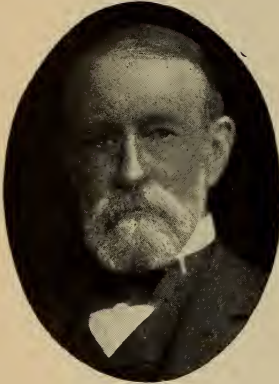
WM. SPRAGUE
of Providence
1860 to March 3, 1863



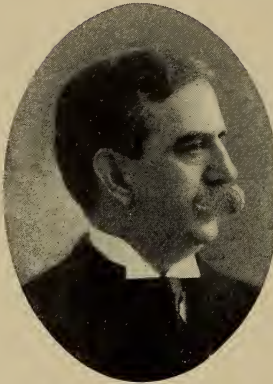
HENRY HOWARD
of Coventry
1873 to 1875



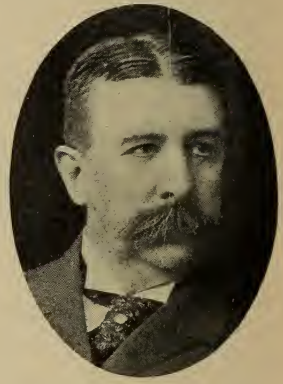
AUGUSTUS O. BOURN
of Bristol
1883 to 1885



ROYAL C. TAFT
1888 to 1889



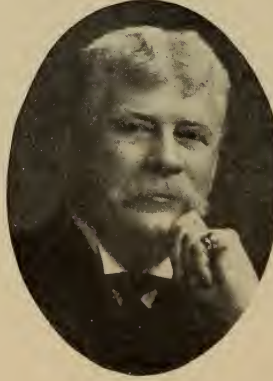
HERBERT W. LADD
of Providence
1889 to 1890, 1891 to 1892



D. RUSSELL BROWN
of Providence
1892 to 1895



CHARLES WARREN LIPPITT
of Providence
1895 to 1897



ELISHA DYER
of Providence
1897 to 1900



CHARLES DEAN KIMBALL
of Providence
Dec. 16, 1901, to 1903

Republican Governors of Rhode Island.

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PROVIDENCE, R. I.

President JAMES B. PAINE
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Directors

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EDWIN LOWE	EZRA K. PERKINS
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DIVIDENDS JANUARY AND JULY
Interest Commences on the First of Each Month

E. ALLEN, Secretary and Treasurer



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Office

49 Westminster Street, Providence, R. I.

WM. G. BASSETT, President

JOS. W. GREEN, JR., Treasurer

ESTABLISHED 1863

Glendale Elastic Fabrics Co.

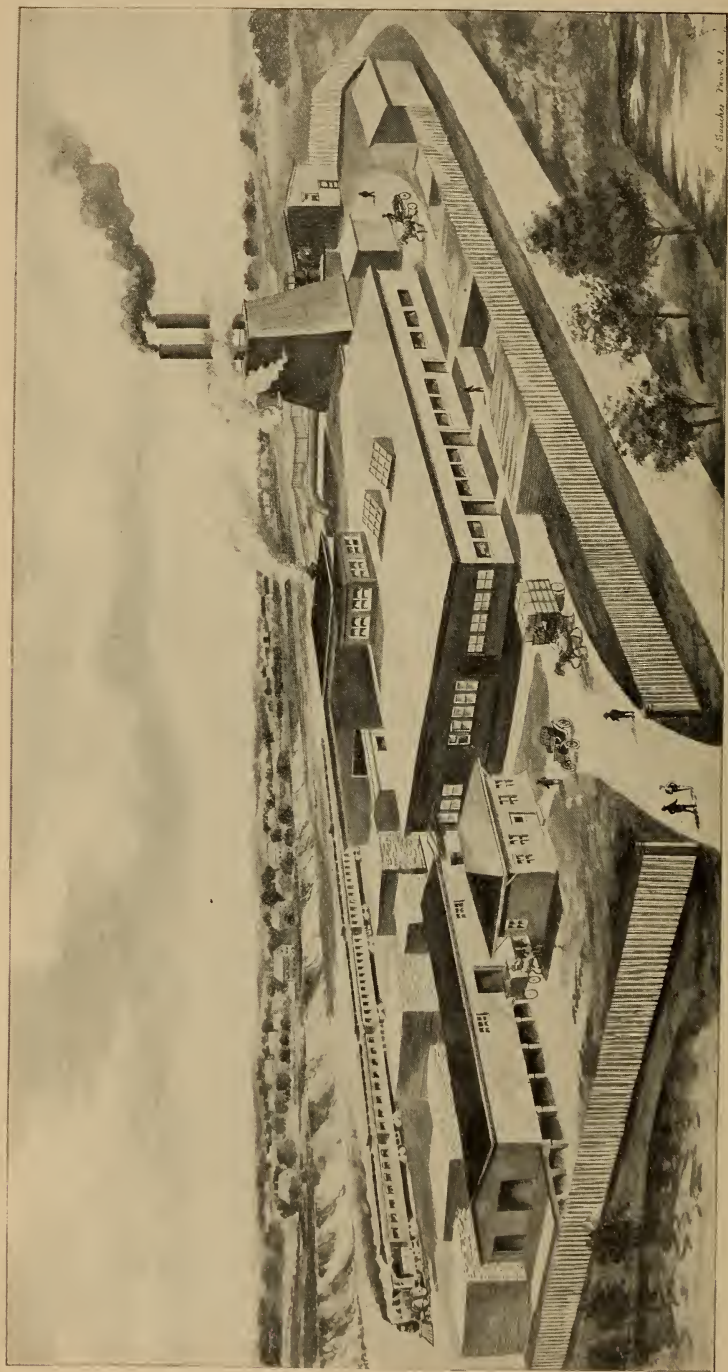


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G. E. TILLINGHAST, Treasurer

J. P. EDDY, JR., Secretary

THE TILLINGHAST, STILES CO.

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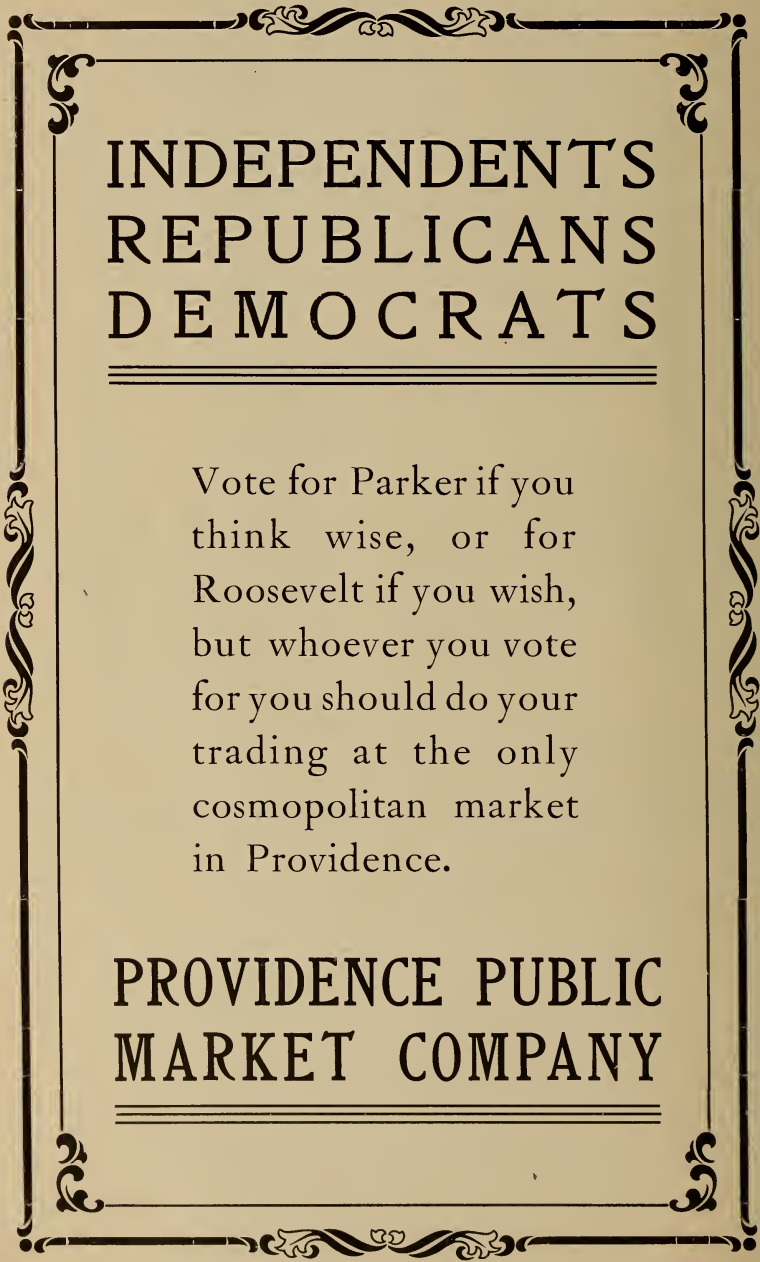
Cotton and
Worsted **Yarns**

All Numbers and Colors

INDUSTRIAL TRUST COMPANY BUILDING, PROVIDENCE, R. I.
Rooms 418, 419, 420, 421

Telephone No. 2003

507 WOOL EXCHANGE BUILDING, NEW YORK



INDEPENDENTS REPUBLICANS DEMOCRATS

Vote for Parker if you
think wise, or for
Roosevelt if you wish,
but whoever you vote
for you should do your
trading at the only
cosmopolitan market
in Providence.

PROVIDENCE PUBLIC MARKET COMPANY

THE ABBOTT COMPANY

5 Dorrance Street, Providence and
231 Main Street, Woonsocket, R. I.

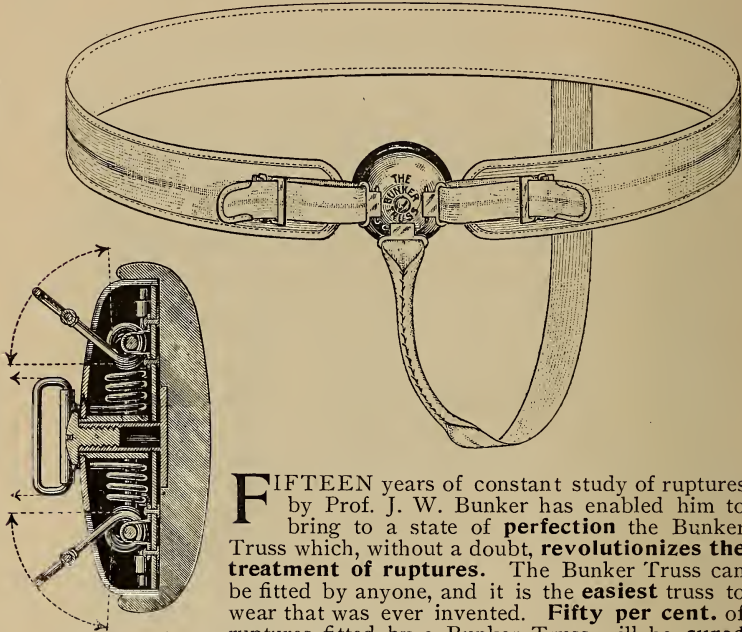
Public Decorators



Campaign Banner made for The Young Men's Republican Club of Rhode Island, by
The Abbott Company, 5 Dorrance Street, Providence, R. I.

Headquarters for Campaign Goods
of every description

Ruptures Cured by the Bunker Truss



FIFTEEN years of constant study of ruptures by Prof. J. W. Bunker has enabled him to bring to a state of **perfection** the Bunker Truss which, without a doubt, **revolutionizes the treatment of ruptures**. The Bunker Truss can be fitted by anyone, and it is the **easiest** truss to wear that was ever invented. **Fifty per cent.** of ruptures fitted by a Bunker Truss will be **cured** and all cases will be **perfectly held** with the greatest of comfort.

BUNKER TRUSS CO.,
New York, N. Y.

PROVIDENCE, R. I., September 3, 1904.

GENTLEMEN:—I was attracted to the display of the Bunker Truss on the automatic figure in the window of the R. I. Drug Co.'s store, 372 Westminster Street, by the large crowd looking at it. I have had a scrotal rupture for twelve years, never had a truss that would hold me until I tried the Bunker Truss. Dr. Robinson, who had the demonstration in charge, fitted me about July 1st.

To-day, September 3d, I can say that I can go for two or three days without wearing the truss and am rapidly improving. No amount of money could buy this truss from me if I could not get another. It certainly does more than what you claim for it. I firmly believe that I will be cured inside of three months.

Yours truly,
CHAUNCEY L. BARRETT.

[SEAL.] Subscribed and sworn to before me this 3d day of September, A. D. 1904.
DEXTER B. POTTER, Notary Public.

In reference to the above statements we are pleased to say that ever since the existence of our store we have fitted and sold all kinds of trusses, receiving our share of patronage.

We have **never** had a truss that would cure a rupture until we took hold of the Bunker Truss, and since we have begun fitting ruptures with the Bunker Truss we have **cured 50%** and held every case. Our sales of the Bunker Truss are twenty-five times greater than any truss or all trusses we have ever sold.

Having had the Bunker Truss thoroughly proven to our satisfaction to do what was claimed for it, we immediately took steps to purchase the State Right for Rhode Island, and we are now the Sole Agents for the State of Rhode Island.

We highly recommend and endorse the Bunker Truss, guaranteeing every sale in our store.

RHODE ISLAND DRUG COMPANY

372 WESTMINSTER STREET

PROVIDENCE, R. I.

The Famous

Narragansett

Banquet Ale

Like the Famous Lager, has no equal

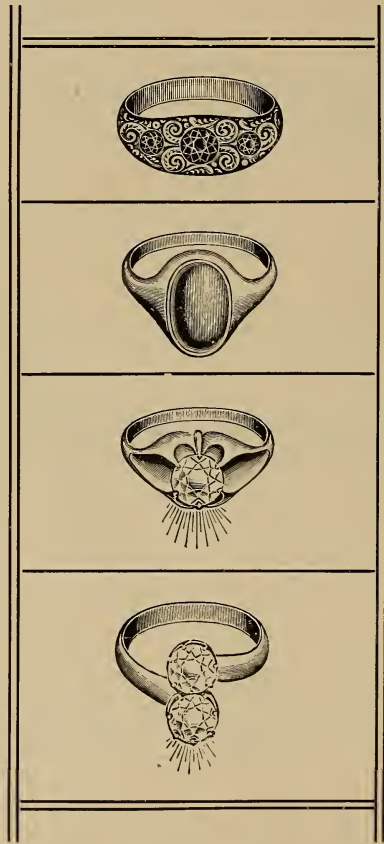
Compliments of ...

Burke Bros.

15 to 27 Eddy Street

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CLARK & COOMBS CO.



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86 WEST EXCHANGE STREET, PROVIDENCE, R. I.

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57 BROADWAY

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Rhode Island's Pride **French Laundry Soap**

For forty years the leader for Laundry purposes; leaves the clothes sweet and clean

Soapine Did It! And is still doing it *all the time*

Ask the Millions Who Are Using It

To Those Who Play the Piano



HANS SCHNEIDER

The Hans Schneider Piano School

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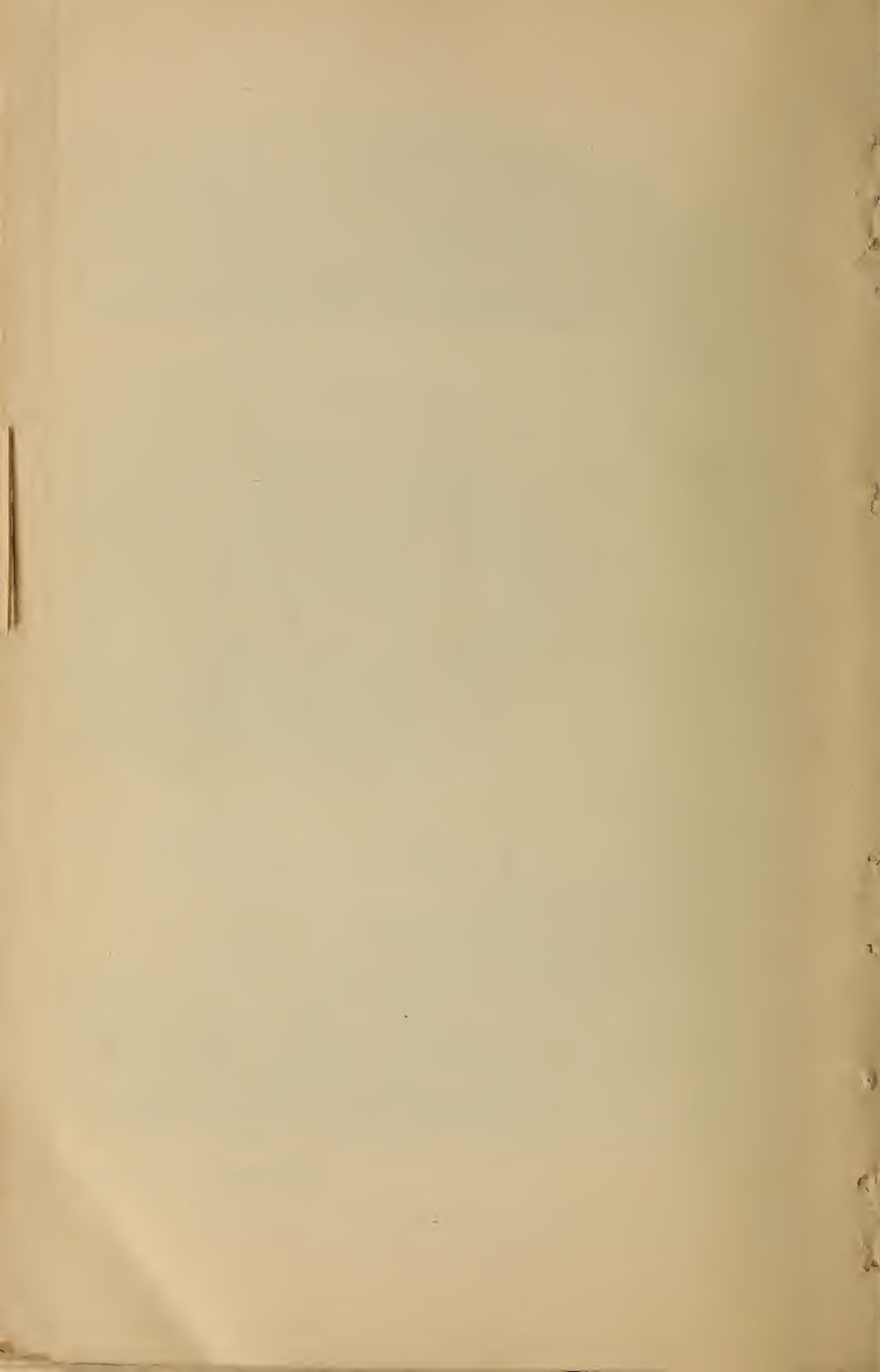
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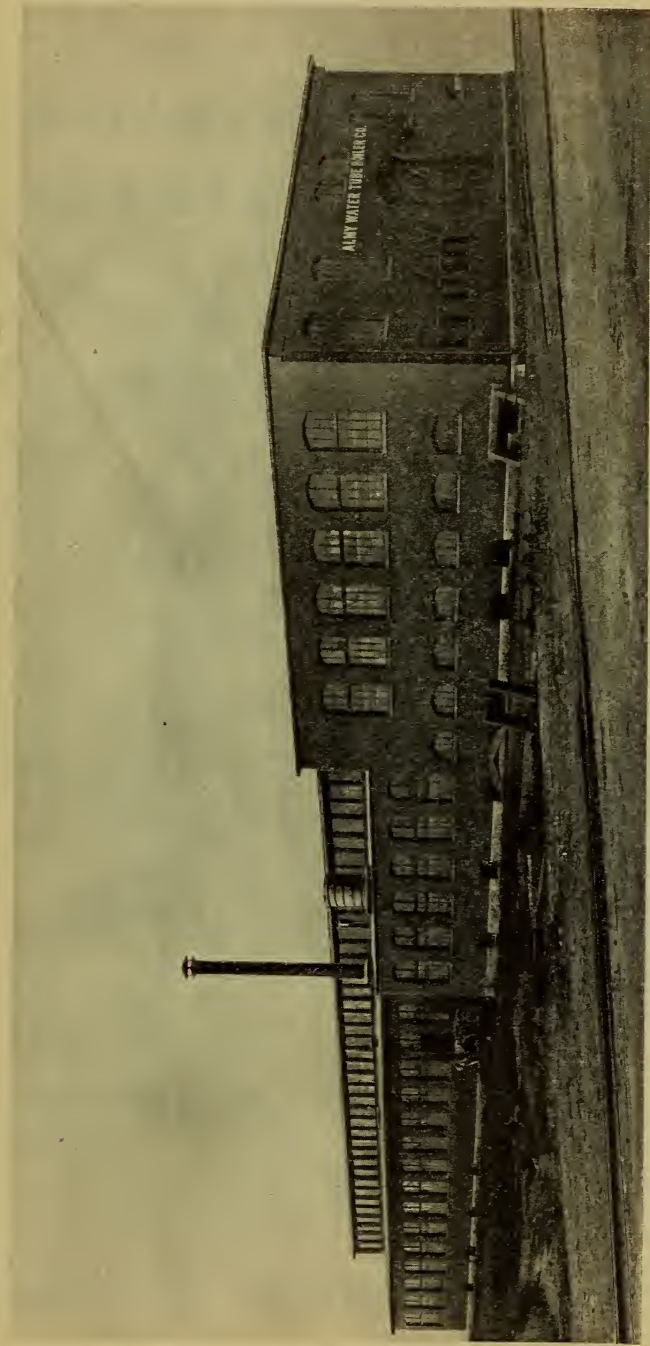
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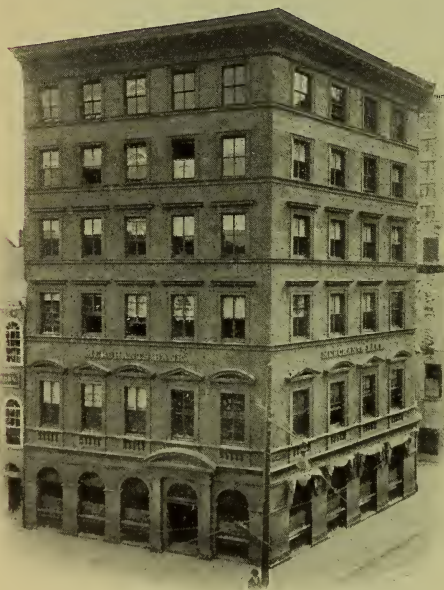
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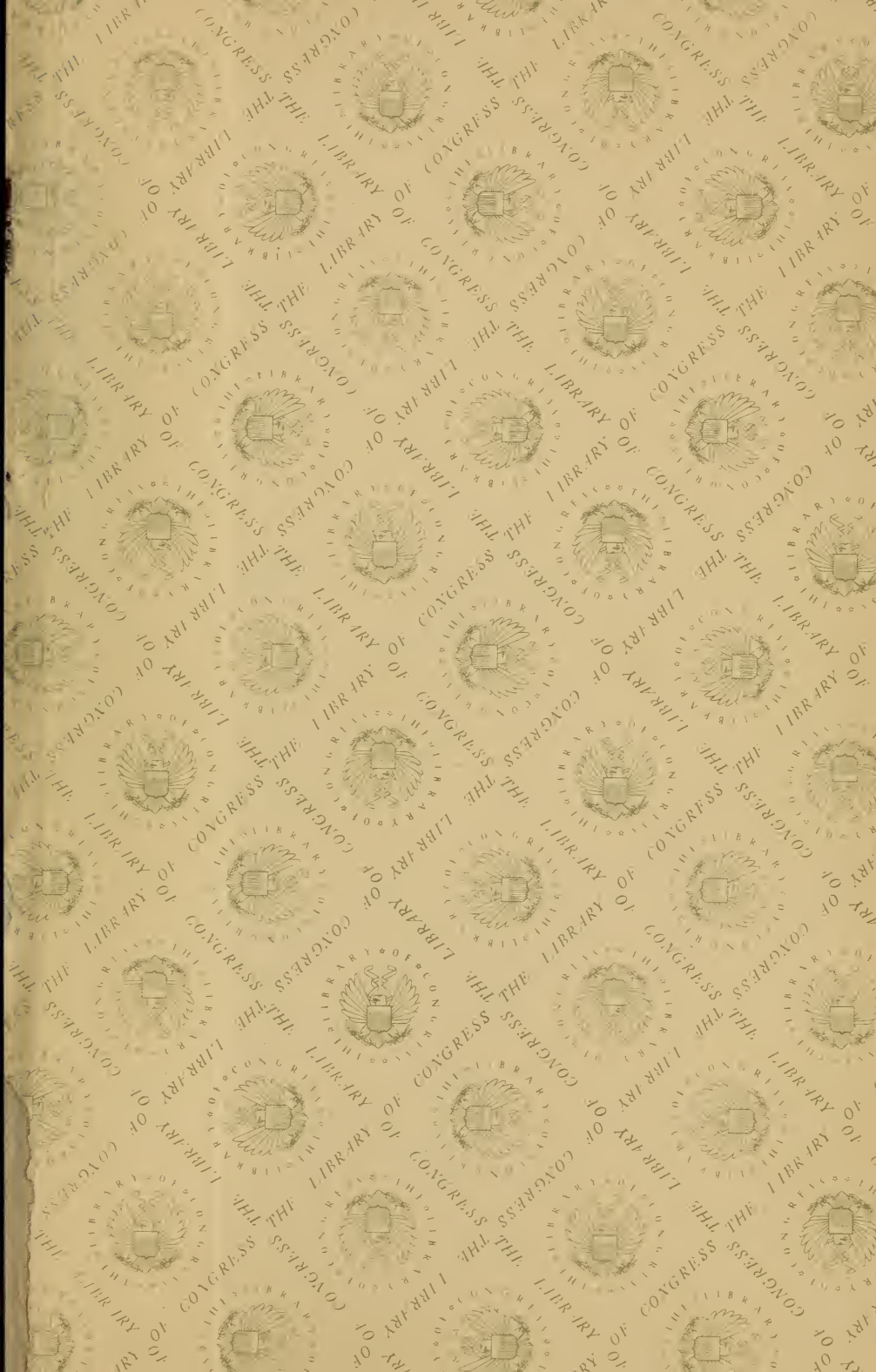
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